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METHODIST REVIEW.

(BIMONTHLY.)

WILLIAM V. KELLEY, D.D., Editor.

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METHODIST REVIEW.

NOVEMBER, 1893.

ART. I.—SOME POPULAR MISTAKES RESPECTING EVOLUTION.

IN the last number of the *Review* evolution was treated of as a general cosmic formula; and it was pointed out that the mistakes of popular thought upon the subject are mainly due to a confusion of the supposed fact of evolution with sundry doubtful metaphysical interpretations. We shall find the same thing to be true of organic evolution. In the organic world evolution is no longer a cosmic formula but a biological doctrine. By a little verbal conjuring it may indeed be made to appear as an illustration of the cosmic theory, but no new insight or evidence is gained thereby. Sawing wood, trimming one's beard, sifting ashes, and weeding the garden may all be brought under a common rubric; yet after all it is hardly worth while to announce that these diverse operations are but phases of the one fundamental process of differentiation. In the organic field evolution is simply the claim that existing living forms can be traced back along genealogical lines to a common starting point in some very simple primitive forms. This does not mean that existing forms can be changed into one another, but rather that they have grown out of a common origin, just as the branches of a tree, though separate and individual, unite in a common trunk and develop by a common process of the formation and growth of terminal and lateral buds. The essential idea is that of genetic connection. Present forms have arisen out of past forms along lines of descent; but when the forms have arisen there may be in many cases no further communication possible.

A complete discussion of this subject would need to consider three distinct points: (1) the fact of organic evolution; (2) the explanation of organic forms by means of evolution; and (3) the metaphysical cause or causes which underlie evolution. It is only as these are kept distinct that we can hope for any assured outcome. If genetic connection is not a fact the theory fails in its foundation. If it be a fact, but we are unable to connect it by any definite laws with the origin and differentiation of organic forms, we are no better off than before. If both of these points are sufficiently cleared up we need for our final peace some conception of the agent or agents which are carrying on the process.

On the first point we find very general agreement in spite of many outstanding difficulties, some of which are of a fundamental nature. The final result with minds of a judicial and critical type will probably be a somewhat more agnostic attitude than obtains at present. On the second point students are all at sea. There is no generally accepted theory of evolution. Natural selection, which for a time seemed to be the key for the unlocking of all mysteries, has been remanded to a subordinate position, and many evolutionists have ventured to speak slightly of it. The action of the environment, use and disuse of organs, physiological variations, extraordinary births, and mysterious variations in the reproductive functions are all appealed to to explain the origin of species; and however successful they may be with particular cases, they are each and all sadly lacking when put alongside of the problem as a whole. The theory of evolution, then, is far from settled; and the agreement of students on the fact of evolution should not blind us to their disagreement on the theory. On the third point, the metaphysics of the process, we find generally only the crude, unconscious dogmatism of the senses. The failure to keep the several questions distinct has filled the discussion with confusion. Gradually, however, we are learning to distinguish them and are getting beyond some of the wild work of years ago. Surmises about what took place in "Lemuria," or about the missing links that may yet be found on the ocean's bed are given less and less weight as arguments.

But our aim is not to discuss the truth of evolution, but rather to criticise some mistaken inferences from it which

abound in popular thought. It is clear to everyone with only slight critical power that the supposed fact and the inferences from it have been sadly mixed. The inference most commonly drawn is that men are apes, or tadpoles, or some other animal which may strike us as rhetorically effective. There seems to be in many minds both spherical and chromatic aberration, which forbid them to see facts in sharp definition and without distorting haze; and certainly there is no more striking illustration than the subject in question presents. For, granting the fact of evolution, the truth would be simply that individuals taken from mutually remote points in a genealogical series would be so unlike as to forbid classifying them together. There would not be a change of individuals into something else, but a succession of unlike individuals along lines of descent. This would exhaust the fact; and it would leave entirely open the question concerning (1) the nature of the individual, and (2) the nature of the power which produces individuals. But popular thought, supposing that genetic connection must imply some identical essence, concludes that the earlier and the later members of the series are the same; and, as the earlier members were possibly arboreal or amphibious in their habits, there is nothing for it but to identify the later members with their ancestors.

In the same way the transformation of species is commonly misunderstood. In logic a species is any group of individuals which have some element of similarity. Most logical species are confessedly artificial and are imposed upon things by the mind for its own convenience. The things themselves are as indifferent to the classification as the earth is indifferent to the parallels of latitude of the geographer, or as time is to our dates and anniversaries. It is absolutely nothing to the temporal flow that we call one part of it June. It is contended, however, that natural species exist objectively; yet even here the most decided realist must allow that most species are of our own making. Dr. Asa Gray said that he had made and unmade too many species to believe in their fixity; and everyone knows how the classification of low forms of life changes from year to year. The realistic contention has plausibility only when applied to the more striking and highly differentiated forms of life. Now the evolutionist who understands himself is a thoroughgoing

nominalist. For him a species is only a group of more or less similar individuals, and apart from these it is nothing. Hence, for him the transformation of a species could only mean the production along genealogical lines of dissimilar individuals, thus forming a new group. These groups, again, would be only relatively fixed, and might shade away at their edges into other groups, so that no fixed frontier could be discovered. But popular thought is always realistic. Its notion of transformation rests on the fancy that a species is a real essence apart from the individual; and the notion that the later individuals are really the same as the earlier rests on an implicit denial of the transformation. Hence, although transformed, it is really the same old thing after all; that is, there has been no real transformation. In short, popular thought overlooks the nominalism of the doctrine of descent and seeks to interpret it by the traditional realism. Thus it digs a ditch for itself and then falls into it.

In all this the illusion is patent. Species are no substantial essences; and generation in any of its forms is only a name for a process whose inner nature and causes are wrapped in mystery. It is the process by which living individuals originate. We know some of the phenomenal conditions, and in this inductive sense we know something of the causes; but what the real agent is which produces individuals lies beyond any ken of ours. And when produced in this way they are as distinct and separate as if produced directly from raw material or made out of hand. Our knowledge of the process is purely empirical and phenomenal. Why such a process exists at all or why its successive phases follow in their discovered order is something we cannot fathom. Any other order is conceivably quite as possible. Here, as in the cosmos as a whole, we find an order of procedure, but are ignorant of the forces at work and of their laws.

If, then, in tracing the history of organic forms along genealogical lines we find a growing complexity and a continued progress, the simple fact would be that the power which produces individuals, instead of producing them all on a level, would rather produce them on a varied and rising scale, a scale of greater complexity and heterogeneity and one of growing adaptation to larger and fuller life. There is nothing whatever in the fact of such connection which identifies individuals, or which identifies higher and lower forms. It only says that the

higher forms have been brought into existence along lines of descent, and not directly from inorganic raw material. They are lateral buds higher up on the tree of life, rather than isolated beginnings. But when the higher forms are produced they are what they are, and are not to be confounded with their antecedents. We may indeed class them together for logical convenience, and may speak of later forms as modifications of earlier ones; but both the identification and the modification are purely subjective, and have no significance for the real things. Apart from our subjective manipulation, the fact is the individuals and the power which produces individuals through the processes of generation in such a way that they admit of being classified according to an ascending scale. All else is the shadow of our own minds.

Such would be the fact. And it is further plain that there is nothing in this fact in any way incompatible with the belief that the growing complexity of organic forms represents a plan and purpose. For if we suppose God to have created a world in time no one can say that he may not have brought forward its factors successively as well as simultaneously, and that he may not have made the earlier stages the conditions of the later. The question of plan must not be confounded with the question of method. Whether there is any plan can be decided only by studying the product. If the organic world has attained a stage in which such a plan is manifest the reality of the plan cannot be discredited by reciting the method of its realization. Such difficulty as popular thought finds here arises from three causes—its tacit realism, its underlying mechanical philosophy, and the psychological difficulty in seeing purpose when it is slowly realized. The first leads us to fancy that descent and classification identify the first and the last, and thus reduce us to apes. The second misleads us into making nature into a self-executing material system, which is able to begin with nothing and on its own account blindly produce all things. The third cause leads us to overlook the relativity of all time estimates and to demand that cosmic purpose shall be measured, not by universal harmony and adaptation, but by the rate of our mental movement. But if the present order of living things would point to intelligence if instantaneously produced, it points equally to intelligence however produced. This results from that complete determina-

tion of everything in a mechanical system which makes it impossible for anything to emerge in such a system which has not always been implicit in it. Every survival and non-survival and the net result of all survivals and non-survivals have been predetermined either from the beginning or from everlasting.

From oversight of this fact a peculiar abstraction is apt to mislead us here. Thus we separate the organic world from the inorganic and tend to make the latter the reality of which the former is a passing product. But we get such a notion only from the unlawful abstractions of verbal thinking. The reality is neither the inorganic alone nor the organic alone, but the actual universe, of which both the organic and the inorganic are manifestations. If it be said that the inorganic certainly preceded the organic, that shows not that the inorganic produces the inorganic, but rather and only that the inorganic manifestation of reality preceded the organic manifestation. When this is seen we are freed from those sterile and verbal debates about the origin of life from the essentially inorganic.

Popular thought has been further misled by sundry phrases and figures of speech which have figured prominently in the discussion. The implicit anthropomorphism in the phrase "natural selection," and the ambiguity in the phrase "the survival of the fittest," have often lent an unreal cogency to evolutionary reasoning. By force of the phrases alone provision is made for selection and progress. It only remains to call the phrases laws to reach a complete insight into the mysteries of organic forms. This is pathetic. Selection is an anthropomorphic metaphor. The fact is simply that organisms unadapted or ill adapted to the conditions of their existence perish, while others better adapted survive. It presupposes the existence of organisms, the general laws of life, the processes of generation, and then explains to us, not how adapted forms arise and survive, but how unadapted forms perish. The non-survival of the unfit, in the sense of unadapted to the conditions of existence, is plain enough, but the existence of the fit is not explained thereby. The fact that weak boilers blow up contains no account of the existence of boilers in general and of strong boilers in particular. When the metaphor is eliminated from the doctrine we see that the knot of the problem lies not in the survival, but in

the arrival of adapted forms; and for this natural selection makes no provision, but takes it for granted.

The ambiguity in "the survival of the fittest" is manifest. The doctrine is a barren tautology, if we determine fitness by survival; and, in a qualitative sense, it constitutes a problem rather than a solution. That the system of things should be such as to favor the fittest, in the sense of the highest, would be a noteworthy circumstance. In itself the doctrine is as compatible with regress as with progress. Which it shall be depends altogether upon the conditions external and internal; and when these work together to secure a real qualitative progress we need something more than the survival of the fittest to account for the fact. And when the fittest arrive and survive in such a way as to fall into different kinds and groups we have a result for the expression of which the old doctrine of types with a little furbishing and some increase of pliability would serve about as well as any. A theist would hardly claim that the Creator produces the similarities which underlie classification without thought of the fact; and an atheist must hold that from all eternity matter has been under the necessity of running in certain molds rather than in any others.

These considerations convince us that the doctrine of descent is entirely harmless so far as theism is concerned. It has, indeed, often been used as the conclusive demonstration of atheism; but this was due entirely to bad logic, crude metaphysics, and fictitious science. In fact, it is very possible that when the theory of descent is thought out into all its implications it will prove to be the most teleological, if not the most anthropomorphic, biological doctrine ever advanced. In many expositions it has already run into teleological conceptions of a mythological type. The same considerations also serve to raise a doubt as to the degree of light which the doctrine throws upon fundamental biological problems. To be sure, the doctrine is said to be accepted by all investigators who are not too old to change their opinions. "All those under forty years of age" was the formula years ago. If none of these have backslidden there must now be practical unanimity. But when we come to apply the doctrine to the solution of biological problems we have less light than we had been led to expect. Certain facts can indeed be connected with certain other facts according to rules em-

pirically discovered; but of the system of facts as a whole and of its general direction we get no account.

We have just seen what a truism the survival of the fittest turns out to be, and how its operation and direction are conditioned by backlying causes which are the real mystery. When, further, the doctrine of descent is held to explain the possibility of classification, the homologies of animal structure, etc., it does it only by assuming the explanation in some so-called law. Genealogical connection alone implies nothing as to its products. These might be like or unlike, for all we know, in any degree whatever. It is only as filiation is restricted to certain results by certain laws, discovered or assumed, that we can deduce anything from it. For the most part we follow Mephistopheles's advice and stick to words. If the offspring is like the ancestor, it is heredity; if unlike, it is differentiation, or variation. Both are names for empirically discovered facts, and neither is a law from which anything specific can be deduced. Either "law," taken absolutely, contradicts the other. In general we have heredity, that is, likeness, enough to explain the likeness, and variation, that is, unlikeness, enough to explain the unlikeness.

Our "laws" have so little definite meaning that, like a dough face, they can be punched into any desirable shape. Under the form of atavism and reversion heredity is easily induced to skip whole generations; and variation may be furnished with any desired velocity and measure. When indefinite time was at our disposal speculators made nothing of using hundreds of millions of years to effect very slight changes. The practical stability of most forms within the historic period was seen to mean nothing, as that period is a vanishing quantity compared with the æons consumed in the process. But when astronomy and geology and physics cut down the æons to moderate proportions there was only momentary embarrassment. By giving variation a variable coefficient, as was most meet, it was easy to make it fast enough or slow enough to fit into any facts whatever. In short, our laws admit of no deduction from them. They prescribe nothing. They are only abstract expressions of the facts themselves and add nothing to them. We have to wait for the facts to occur; and then we classify them as due to heredity or variation. If the facts had been altogether different

we could classify them with equal insight and satisfaction. Variations have arisen, we know not how, and have been preserved from effacement by crossing with the average individual, we know not how. They have been reproduced in the offspring, we know not how; why in the actual direction and measure so as to produce the actual product is altogether beyond us. But we may be sure that if these variations and reproductions fell out as they did the actual order is fully explained. One must be considerably "under forty years of age" to be fully contented with this account.

This logical pliability is well illustrated by the replies to an objection which was made at an early date in the evolution discussion. It was pointed out that cross breeding must speedily efface variations. A variation in a single individual, under the law of heredity and supposing cross fertility, must quickly vanish in the common characteristics. This was a grave objection, and one fatal to the doctrine in its original form. But why may not similar variations have occurred simultaneously in many individuals, at least in a pair? And since animals wander about, why may we not suppose this pair or these similar individuals to have emigrated or been segregated by the upheaval of mountain chains or by the subsidence of the earth's crust so as to form islands, thus escaping cross breeding? Or may not cross fertility itself have ceased through some undemonstrable changes in the reproductive powers of certain individuals, which thereby became a group by themselves? These suggestions, all of which have been gravely made in the history of the debate, show a notable flexibility in the theory and some power of scientific imagination.

The genetic connection of organic forms, then, may well be a fact, and one which enables us to relate many facts in a common scheme; but when we seek to find an essential explanation of organic forms in it we find that the doctrine does not touch bottom. We can carry many things into it, but we can get nothing out of it. In this respect it is like a logical classification which applies to all the particulars included under it, but implies none of them. Of course this is well understood among scientific men themselves; but it is not understood among magazine and hearsay scientists, who, unfortunately, are always with us.

Evolution has also been pursued into the realm of mind with great enthusiasm and greater misunderstanding. It is popularly supposed that evolution has shown that the human mind has been evolved from the brute mind, and hence that there is no essential difference between them. But here again we have to distinguish between the fact and its interpretation. Admitting evolution as true, the fact in the present case would be that minds of a lower grade preceded those of a higher grade, and that if we should classify these minds we should find them constituting an ascending order. There is no mind in general, neither brute nor human. The human mind is only a class term of which the reality is individual human minds. The brute mind also is only a class term; and if there be any reality corresponding to it, it is a multitude of individual minds whose powers are very obscurely known to us. The easy freedom with which we are recommended to study the human mind in its origin in the brute mind would naturally lead one to think that we have an independent and unquestionable knowledge of the brute mind; whereas what little knowledge we have is reached by assimilating the brute's activity to our own, while most of the alleged knowledge is only an inconsistent anthropomorphism. Of course no one ventures consistently to apply the anthropomorphic interpretation; and so we oscillate confusedly between reason and instinct, and lose ourselves in a cloud of words concerning the relations of the human and the brute mind.

Allowing the brute mind, however, the fact that these many minds have appeared in connection with a genealogical series and that they constitute an ascending order is far from deciding the essential nature of the individuals or their relation to one another. To identify them because they are all minds would be like identifying a watch and locomotive because they are both machines, or lead and gold because they are both metals. To identify them because the term mind is one is to overlook the fact that the thing is many and that no classification removes the incommunicable difference of individuality. To class them together because of the assumed genealogical connection would be to assume that the antecedent and consequent must be alike, and that would take all motion out of the doctrine. The actual order, whether intended or not, involves the successive appear-

ance of individual minds so as to form an ascending series in the scale of mentality; but the true nature of the agents by which this series is realized is enveloped in profound obscurity, while the process throws no light on the nature of the individuals themselves. The problem is not, as so many seem to think, to put the abstraction "mind" or the "brute mind" through the various paces of verbal evolution, but to produce a series of individual minds, each distinct from every other and, except in a figurative way, inheriting nothing from any other.

The history of thought furnishes no more striking illustration of the power of the fallacy of the universal than appears in this debate. It is positively pathetic, the way in which men have caught themselves in a verbal trap. To begin with, a deal of rhetorical skirmishing has been done over the general question whether evolution may be applied to man, in which not a little courage of a sort has been shown. The claims of the scientific spirit and of the principle of continuity having been duly vindicated, it only remained to show that the human mind and all its contents admit of being developed from the brute mind as the principle of continuity demands. The method consisted in showing that human faculty and brute faculty differ in degree rather than in kind. Animals love and hate, remember and reason, and even show traces of conscience and religion. Mr. Darwin detected notable indications of a moral nature in dogs; and one French *savant* has discovered in the nightly howling of a dog an act of religious worship. Since, then, the brute mind contains at least the rudiment of our human faculties, it is entirely possible that the latter should have been evolved from the former. This is all the more credible from the fact that the difference between the highest and the lowest man is far greater than that between the highest brute and the lowest man.

Strenuous and agonistic attempts have been made to reply to this by finding in language, in general and abstract ideas, or in the idea of the infinite an impassable gulf between the human and the brute mind. And yet the debate did not touch reality at all; it was only a matter of logical classification or of the contents of a pair of logical abstractions, the human mind and the brute mind. If the two abstractions were found to be identical the concrete problem would be as hard as ever; for this, as we have said, consists not in a verbal shuffling of logical

symbols, but in the production of a series of concrete minds, each of which is a distinct individual and, except in a figurative sense, inherits nothing from any other. Given one or more minds, to produce new minds of higher kind or degree, or indeed of any kind or degree, is the real problem.

The difficulty of this problem is shown in the materialistic debate, and also in the traditional discussion in theology as to the origin of souls. One thing is sure: no one has yet discovered a way for reducing souls to functions of physical organization or for evolving souls from something which is not soul. Equally undiscovered is the way for evolving souls from the souls of parents, say by some process of budding, or fission, or offshoots. The imagination, indeed, readily masters the process by a few sense-images, though more commonly by merely naming the process; but thought finds no escape from viewing each successive mind as a new beginning. Here, as elsewhere, the supposed fact of evolution has been illogically connected with a mechanical and material philosophy and with that crude dogmatism of uncritical thought which erects nature into an independent and self-sufficing system. A few echoes of scholastic realism make the doctrine complete.

This distinctness of individuality on which we have been dwelling reduces many potent phrases, as "race-experience," to mere figures of speech. The experience of an individual, being inalienable, cannot be inherited or transmitted. Of course the so-called facts of mental heredity remain; but when we eliminate from these all that is figurative they are reduced to a similarity, more or less striking, between the mental traits of the ancestor and those of the descendant. How this similarity is produced is a special problem; to explain it by heredity is simply to offer the name of the problem for its solution. To suppose the experience to be handed along bodily is to fall into one of the many mythologies of the imagination. Refraining from these follies, we have left a graded series of minds of greater or less similarity; but the cause of the series and the reason of the similarity remain in the highest degree obscure. If we think to help the matter by saying that at least the process is natural the claim may be admitted, in the sense that the facts succeed one another in a certain phenomenal order. To make "natural" mean more than this is to plunge into the

depths of dogmatic metaphysics. The conception which commonly underlies the claim is that nature is a closed dynamic system, self-centered and self-administering; and this is merely the apotheosis of crude and uncritical thinking.

So far we have considered only the existence of minds; we have found the difficulties of the problem covered up by irrelevant verbal thinking. Evolution is also supposed to have great significance for the contents of these minds. Here evolution is no longer a cosmical formula or a biological doctrine, but a psychological theory. The unity of the name must not lead us to overlook the difference of the thing. In this field the doctrine is mainly the familiar sensational psychology, renamed and furnished with some sonorous biological phrases and with the unmanageable notion of a race experience. New names and fresh paint are such powerful rejuvenating agents that were it not for a law of Congress all the old hulks afloat would renew their youth. Speculative doctrines often undergo rejuvenescence by an analogous process. Our new psychology, that is, our old sensational psychology with a new name, points out that the beginnings of the mental life consist of simple sensations and animal wants and instincts. All higher forms of mentality, and especially all moral manifestations, come later. Hence it is concluded that the higher are evolved from the lower, and that if we should reduce our mental life to its essential factors we should find only the selfish wants and instincts of animal life.

But here again we confound the description of the order of mental development with a theory of its conditioning ground. On the one hand, there is no doubt that the order of mental development is that just described, and, on the other, it is equally plain that the conclusion is utterly false. In the history of the human body there is a successive appearance of facts and functions of which the infant body shows at first no trace, such as teeth, beard, reproductive functions; but these cannot be explained as accidents of the physical life, but rather as successive manifestations of a law of growth which implies all these stages. So in the development of a fruit tree. There is a long period of growth in which no hint is given of blossoms and fruit; and yet when they come they can be viewed only as manifesta-

tions of an essential law which expresses the nature of the tree and determines the order and stages of its development. The same is true of a mind. There is an order of development; but that order can in no way be understood without assuming an inner law as its foundation. And as the true nature of an apple tree is not fully revealed in the leaves alone, but only in the whole cycle of manifestation, so the true nature of a mind is revealed, not in simple sensations alone, but only in its entire cycle of manifestation. Without this assumption we cannot explain mental development at all. The several phases of mental unfolding can in no way be identified. The lower may precede the higher and condition its unfolding, but it cannot of itself pass into the higher. The ground of progress must be sought, not in the antecedents, but in the essential nature of the mind itself.

The claim often heard, that the moral nature is only a phase of the brute nature, is barely intelligible at best, and is quite false in its intended meaning. It is our old friend, the fallacy of the universal, over again. It classifies various feelings together and supposes that they are thereby identified in fact. This notion disappears as soon as we recall the distinction between verbal thinking and concrete thinking. Things are not made alike by being classed together. Their union in a class may give a common point of view which has logical convenience; but as soon as we have to deal with reality we must go back to the things themselves. When, then, we class a number of feelings together we do nothing to the feelings. They remain what they were, with their differences as well as their likenesses; and for their understanding we have to leave the formal identifications of logic and betake ourselves to experience itself. Most of the identifications of the theory are of this formal sort. They are not concrete but abstract; they do not represent reality, but only logical manipulation. But in popular thought when the terminology of evolution is let loose upon animal elements they are supposed to develop into moral elements, yet not into truly moral elements; they rather remain animal elements as at first. Thus the baseness of the raw material infects the product, and the moral nature is shown to be of the earth, earthy. The popular speculator is so little conscious of his own aim that he really does not know whether there is a develop-

ment or not. If you deny the possibility of such evolution he turns on a flood of words with amazing volubility and proves it possible. If you accept the development and emphasize the moral nature he then points out that it is not truly moral, but only disguised animalism. This dreary verbal seesaw needs no further discussion.

Mr. Darwin himself, as well as his disciples, seems to have fancied that his view of a gradual development of human faculties has immense significance for psychology and philosophy, and especially for morals. This opinion rested partly upon the fancy just mentioned, that such a development can be worked without assuming an inner law as its determining ground; partly also on the fancy that the derived must be untrustworthy; and finally on the failure to distinguish between the order of mental genesis and the question of philosophical value. The first fancy has been sufficiently noted; the second one is a curious inheritance from an obsolete psychological doctrine, and is, too, a contradiction of evolution itself. For if faculty is really developing, if insight is really being evolved, then our minds in their last, and not in their earliest, stages are the true court of appeal. If we are not developing toward knowledge of course all thinking is at an end. But in either case it is quite absurd to appeal either to babies or to some primitive polyp to settle philosophical questions. If it is no reflection upon the mature mind that it was once in the embryonic state of infancy and the whimsical stage of childhood, so also it is no reflection upon it that it was preceded by others whose development never went beyond an animal stage. As to the other point mentioned, it is sufficient to say that the psychological genesis and history of our ideas are one thing; their philosophical value is quite another.

A final misinterpretation of evolution is to be noticed in the field of religion. Writers of the evolution school largely agree in tracing religious belief to some low primitive form, as fetichism or animism. Some hold that the belief in ghosts, arising from dreams and pathological phenomena, was the primal form of religion; and from this unseemly, or at least unpromising, beginning all the various forms of religion, even the highest, have been evolved. The common inference from such views is that the

nature and truth of religion are determined by its earliest form. If, then, we would find the essence of religion we must look to its embryonic manifestation. The truth of religion also must depend on the tenability of its rudimentary conceptions. If we find the belief in ghosts to be the earliest form of religious conception we must view the latest and highest forms as only sublimations of that primitive faith. If we no longer believe in ghosts we must prepare to see all the sublimated phases of that faith vanish with its grosser forms. Probably most of those who hold such views as to the historical origin of religion are convinced that they have an important bearing upon the truth of religion. We see, it is said, how the religious idea arises, and we have only to invoke evolution to see how it unfolds.

It is curious to the origin of this fancy. The mind spontaneously gives all its objects a substantive form, no matter whether they be proper things or not. Language has comparatively few nouns which stand for real things, most nouns representing only a conceptual existence. But when an idea has once taken on the substantive form we easily mistake it for a kind of thing and apply attributes to it which are meaningless except when applied to things. Again, we think under the law of identity; and hence our ideas, when once defined, come to have a fixed meaning for thought. When, then, we speak of the development of ideas we tend to think of the ideas themselves as developing or evolving, and yet as never going beyond the abiding essence which the law of identity demands. In the case in hand the primal religious idea is supposed to develop, and yet it never gets beyond its original self. By developing it unfolds itself into the myriad forms of religion; and by the law of identity it is kept to its primal essence. But that essence was, say, a belief in ghosts. No one, then, who has given up the primitive faith in ghosts can long keep its offshoot or outgrowth, religion.

Now, in all this the fallacy of the universal is full-blown. The mind merely chases its own shadow and mistakes its verbal manipulations for a real process in the thing. But as soon as we get away from verbal thinking to the fact we see that a belief or idea is nothing which can develop itself. Just as little can it have an abiding objective essence which remains un-

changed through its several phases. This would be logical and psychological mythology. Except in a figurative sense a belief does not admit of being developed at all. A developed belief is another belief. As a mental act or affirmation a belief exists only in the act or affirmation; and when the affirmation is changed there is no abiding essence which glides over from the old to the new, but a new affirmation is made. If we viewed the modern house as developed from the wigwam we should hardly suppose either that the wigwam evolved itself into the house or that there was a wigwam essence which remained unchanged throughout the evolution and constituted the true nature of the house. The development of the wigwam into the house means the tearing down of the wigwam and replacing it by the house. So in the case in question. If the alleged genesis of religion were historically correct it would not mean that the primal religious conception developed itself or that it was developed into anything else. It would rather mean that human beings in a given stage of progress formed certain conceptions of things unseen, while other human beings in another stage of progress replaced these conceptions by other and higher ones. Fetichism, animism, ghostism, polytheism, monotheism, pantheism, Christianity—these are not phases of a common belief, except in a verbal sense or in the sense of logical classification; in reality and apart from the verbal identities of logic, they are different conceptions which men have formed concerning the invisible world.

The fancy that what was historically first was the raw material out of which the others were made is a meaningless whimsey of the imagination. The fancy that the first belief is the standard by which the others must be judged is equally whimsical and groundless. As well might we say that astrology is the real essence of astronomy, and that to believe modern astronomy is to accept ancient astrology, since the former has developed out of the latter. And finally, if the historical genesis of religion were agreed upon, the truth of the competing conceptions would remain an open question. This could not be settled by any study of evolution. To make such an attempt would be like settling the claims of chemistry by reciting the history of alchemy. The question of truth must be transferred to the court of philosophy, whose function it is to study the

grounds and worth of belief, in distinction from its genesis and history. If religion began as animism it is now animism in the same sense in which astronomy is now astrology or chemistry is now alchemy. And, as it is no reproach to these sciences that their beginnings were both crude and unsavory, so it is no reproach to religion that its early forms were both crude and superstitious. This, indeed, is characteristic of all early conceptions, scientific and religious alike. A good part of early science was sheer superstition, and the rest was largely mistaken. But this fact has not the slightest significance for the truth of our present conceptions. A moment's reflection shows this. Yet by dint of talking and much reference to evolution this historical order of genesis has been supposed to reveal in religious ideas an essence of abiding baseness, and also to furnish a standard of their truth. To resume the illustration already given, this is like refuting astronomy and chemistry by belaboring astrology and alchemy. So fearful are the ravages of verbal thinking.

To sum up the matter, it is plain that evolution, in what I have called the scientific sense, is a perfectly harmless and not over-important doctrine. In itself it is as good as any other, and, when proved, or in so far as proved, it is better than any other. It is equally plain that most of the conclusions drawn from it do not follow. The mass of what passes for evolution in popular literature and discussion is bad metaphysics, worse logic, and hearsay science. The term itself has become so vague that it is much to be desired that the distinguished clergymen who now and then make a sensation among the reporters by announcing themselves as believers in evolution would accompany their profession of faith with some interpreting definition. Without this the performance is not altogether unlike expressing a belief in things in general.

Borden P. Bourne.

ART. II.—MATTHEW ARNOLD.

It is now ten years since Mr. Arnold came to America and gave lectures in some of our cities. He followed in this the example of Thackeray and Dickens, and if his hearing was smaller than theirs it was quite as attentive and appreciating. These men, seeking their own pleasure or profit, gratified our curiosity and stimulated us to read and value their writings, and thus did us an abiding service. Arnold was of noble presence, of kindly, earnest face, and his rich hair, parting and clustering in generous masses, was in that winter of 1883 just sable silvered. He was no orator; his tones were pleasant, but low and slow of utterance, and his drawl was unspeakable. For all that, to cultivated audiences the charm of his personal composure, the beauty of his thought, and the clear, incisive quality of his silvery rhetoric made him very welcome. During his lifetime Mr. Arnold was well rather than widely known among his countrymen as a man of letters and as a thinker. Nor since his sudden death, in 1887, has this statement needed any modification. Yet he was appreciated by his contemporaries; and his works will receive from posterity by just award a permanent place in the ever-lengthening scroll of our English classics, which Americans also claim, seeing that we read them without translations.

Matthew Arnold was born December 24, 1822, in Laleham, England. His father, Thomas Arnold, eminent as clergyman and historian, was still more eminent as a teacher. At Matthew's birth he was privately fitting students for the universities. Later he entered upon his career as head master at Rugby, where many a Tom Brown came to love and respect him. He knew the good and the ill of English boys, as with all their faults the most sincere, energetic, and self-centered of the human race, and with wonderful skill he trained them in sound learning and, still better, in devout and generous sentiments. Molded to his ideals, more than one of his pupils became, like Dean Stanley, a leader and a blessing to the generation following. Matthew was his elder son. Another, William Delafield, early worn out in the educational work of India, died on his homeward route and was buried at Gibraltar; and the

grave of his noble wife is shown beneath the mighty shadow of the Himalayas. In Matthew's boyhood the home of the Arnolds was made at Fox How, in the Lake region, near the cottage of Wordsworth. Here in his vacations the father studied; and here the son could see the Lake Poets, Coleridge, Southey, and Wordsworth. To Fox How, thus a haunt of the muses, streamed in pilgrimage a line of visitors eminent for literary gifts and sympathies; and young Matthew, who even early "seemed no vulgar boy," could catch the deep things of reason and the sweet things of song. Most reverently sat the lad at the feet of these philosophers and poets.

In 1840, having studied under his father, he entered Balliol College, Oxford, and three years later gained a prize for an English poem. Two years later he was made a fellow of Oriel College. In 1846 he became private secretary to Lord Lansdowne, and so remained for several years. He also—after his marriage with Frances Wightman, daughter of an eminent jurist—served for thirty-four years as her majesty's inspector of British schools. He became in 1857 professor of poetry at Oxford. This office he held for ten years. Occasional poems, oftenest on simple themes, as the death of "Geist," his terrier, or of "Matthias," his canary, afterward appeared, and his "Westminster Abbey," written on the death of Dean Stanley, has the deep tone and solemn movement of a funeral anthem. His later years were given to educational work, to essays, critical and æsthetic, and to public addresses. Death came suddenly—a collapse at some muscular exertion—before either mind or body showed symptoms of decay. The simplicity and unworldliness of his life may be illustrated by the fact that from all his labors he had gathered an estate of only a thousand pounds!

Mr. Arnold's first stir of thought was from Wordsworth, not Wordsworth in his prime, the flush "high priest of man and nature and of human life," but from the venerable laureate when his utterances were beginning to have "the sweetness, the gravity, the beauty, and the languor of death." The son of Thomas Arnold inherited lofty energies; it is a pity that these were impaired by the contemplative egotism of the father's next friend and neighbor. At the time, too, when impressions deep and lasting were easily made on Matthew's mind, Goethe, artist and critic of more than one generation, went to

his grave. How men raved of him! "Knowest thou," says Carlyle, "no prophet, even in the vesture, environment, and dialect of this age? I know him and name him Goethe. In him man's life begins again to be divine." Goethe had at first held the principles of Rousseau. Later, with the serenity of a Brahman and the tone of a Delphic oracle, he announced that the chief end of man is "to cultivate his own spirit." This utterance fell like a gospel on Arnold's ear; he gave himself to expound and enforce it, to engraft it on the literature of his period, and to embody it in the English character and manners. To him we owe that sense of the word "culture" so hard to state, but often synonymous with "life in the spirit" and other words and phrases, such as "perfection," "sweetness and light," "harmonious development," and the like. A better pleader for the new "development" could hardly have been found. Clear and graceful in statement, gentle under criticism, patient under reproof, and witty in reply, he seemed chiefly to fail in what both the sacred and the profane oracles enjoin as the first step in culture—the understanding of himself.

When he was in the receptive undergraduate mood Oxford was still shedding on its children those "last enchantments of the Middle Ages" which can never wholly vanish from its halls and groves. The venerable university "has more criticism now, more knowledge, more light; but such voices as those of my youth it has no longer. They haunt my memory still." Cardinal Newman, not yet a Catholic, seemed destined to revive and spiritualize, if not transform, the Church of England. He entranced young Arnold, who forty years later seemed still to hear him saying: "After the fever of life, after wearinesses and sicknesses, fightings and despondings, languor and fretfulness, struggling and succeeding; after all the changes and chances of this troubled, unhealthy state—at length comes death, at length the white throne of God, at length the beatific vision." The young man heard Goethe say through Carlyle: "Here in the marble sleeps undecaying the fair image of the Past; in your hearts, also, it lives and works. Travel, travel, back into life! Take along with you this holy earnestness, for earnestness alone makes life eternity." And now to him from Massachusetts "a clear, pure voice" brought a strain as new and moving and unforgettable as the strain of Newman

or Carlyle or Goethe. "What Plato has thought, he [the man in you] may think; what a saint has felt, he may feel; what at any time has befallen any man, he can understand." Such utterances charmed Arnold's heart and gave to all his doings a noble tone and a transcendent temper.

His general view of the human race is that back of social appearances we are utterly separate, each a lone island by himself in "the unplumbed, salt, estranging sea:"

Yes, in the sea of life enisled,
With echoing straits between us thrown,
Dotting the shoreless, watery wild,
We mortal millions live *alone*.

By this isolation it comes that none can be his brother's keeper. Some strong-lunged islander may call to his fellow, but nothing more. This being the environment, the first quality to be cultivated is endurance, more that of Zeno than of Paul. Patience under an order of things not of our making is a teaching traceable through all his poetry and prose. Then comes in many a pleasing form the lesson of "self-centering:"

And with joy the stars perform their shining,
And the sea its long, moon-silvered roll;
For self-poised they live, nor pine with noting
All the fever of some differing soul.
Bounded by themselves and unregardful
In what state God's other works may be,
In their own tasks all their powers pouring,
These attain the mighty life you see.

In the "hopeless tangle of our age," to which he is keenly alive and which he explores, though to do so be a task of sorrow, "alone, self-poised, henceforward man must labor." "No man can save his brother's soul nor pay his brother's debt." As a man is thus set apart from his fellow, "self-perfecting," "self-culture" are his duty and his chief concern. By this "culture" Mr. Arnold means the unfolding of every power enfolded within us and the perfect adapting of ourselves to the island of our Crusoe life. This culture is not gained by "Philistine" expedients, by unions, cooperations, and harangues, with "tremendous cheers." It is of, for, and by one's self, save as the perfume of one "islet" may be wafted to another. It can be achieved by nothing save patient personal effort.

Here Mr. Arnold looks back longingly to the feudal age and

the Periclean. The evil communications of the present corrupt good manners. He seems to say, "Any former times were better than these." Such temper could not well come into practical politics; it is too remote, unformulated, and unitemized, not to say fastidious. Pure as Arnold's motives were known to be, he was too dainty to serve in a party, even in that of Mr. Gladstone. He scouted "equality," and preferred benevolence to democracy. As a result the "sweetness and light" shed from his "islet" were little felt by the masses; they were hardly as effective as an aurora borealis. *Punch* summed up as follows his discourses to the laboring classes and all other classes:

To Matthew Arnold hark,
With both ears all avidity!
That Matthew—a man of mark—
Says "cultivate lucidity!"

Mr. Arnold's educational efforts were steady and sincere. Indeed, like his brother, he had the teacher's zeal for his inheritance. He served well and wisely in many and various school offices, of which one need not here speak particularly. His part was a large one in entering young women in England upon university study, so that Newnham College at Cambridge and Girton at Oxford are already too narrow for their throngs, and young women have taken the first honors in Greek and mathematics. His pleading for literature in courses of study, as against the exclusive pursuit of science and the "practical" branches, was earnest and eloquent. He held that education means knowing ourselves and the world, and for this we should know the best that has been thought and said in the world. True it is that *belles-lettres* may be so treated as to yield only a smattering benefit; but its study should be a serious search for truth. "Canst thou not minister to a mind diseased?" a young man explained to him (as examiner) to mean, "Can you not wait upon the lunatic?" "Is it not better," he asks, "to understand Shakespeare than to know that the combustion of wax produces water and carbonic acid?" Especially he urged the study of poetry, holding with Aristotle that poetry is more truthful and serious than history, and with Wordsworth that it is "the breath and finer spirit of all knowledge," "the impassioned expression which is in the countenance of all science." He is sure that

man's sense of beauty and sense of conduct give life three fourths of its meaning, and that these demand the study of literature and, most of all, that best of human products, the Greek literature.

"To attain perfect culture we must be perfectly religious, and for this we must properly understand the Bible." Arnold was no atheist, and in no sympathy with Colenso, Baur, Clifford, or Ingersoll, destroyers of the faith once delivered to the saints and givers of nothing in its place. He cannot "stand by the sea of time and listen to the solemn, rhythmic beating of its waves" without feeling that "Moody and Sankey are masters of the philosophy of history" and that "Christianity is the greatest and happiest stroke ever yet made for human perfection." Just as perfection in art, salvation in art, will never be reached without knowing Greece, so perfection in conduct, salvation in conduct, the way of peace, can be reached only with the Bible and Christianity.

But here begins his departure. He holds that, as the ages roll, religion unfolds new aspects and meanings, while the old decay and disappear. In our day "every creed is shaken, every dogma questioned, every tradition dissolving." The incarnation, the resurrection of Jesus, the atonement as preached by Moody, the supernatural in Christian history, these he seems to reject as "materialized" conceptions of ruder ages. Even the doctrine of the Trinity he can speak of as "a fairy tale of the three Lord Shaftesburys." "Be ye perfect," said the great Teacher, and this, says Mr. Arnold, is the harmonious development of all sides of our humanity. "Something Mr. Moody and his hearers have got from Jesus that does them good; but if he bases Christian salvation on a story like covenant redemption he shows a want of intellectual seriousness. To the more educated class belief in Mr. Moody's story is impossible now; to the religious middle class it will be impossible soon." "There is an enduring power, not ourselves, which makes for righteousness," says he, cloudily. "The method and secret" of Jesus were commendable; the "method" was repentance, the "secret" was peace; but the Christian religion rests on the assumption of a personal ruler, and "this cannot be verified." Even the resurrection, poorly understood by Paul, is in fact "a rising to that harmonious conformity with the real and the eternal

which is life and peace, until it becomes glory." How reassuring to know that Moody still tells the old, old story, as once in Arnold's presence, that the common people hear it gladly, and that, while Arnold has said,

Resolve to be thyself! And know that he
Who finds himself loses his misery,

many in finding the Saviour are losing their misery! Yet this brilliant disbeliever has longings that he does not quite conceal. He seems, in spite of some pride of reason, to yearn for faith in Jesus such as his father had, such as was easy when

Men called from chamber, church, and tent,
And Christ was by to save.

He would gladly have been himself caught in the tide

Of love which set so deep and strong
From Christ's then open grave.

But, turning sadly away, he says:

Now he is dead! Far hence he lies
In the lorn Syrian town;
And on his grave, with shining eyes,
The Syrian stars look down.

At last we seem to find this gifted and fascinating man, Christian born and Christian bred, sinking into such pantheism as our missionaries confront in India:

Myriads who live, who have lived,
What are we all but a mood,
A single mood, of the life
Of the Spirit in whom we exist,
Who alone is all things in one?

Genial and kindly as Arnold is, he seems with condescending air to look from his "islet" upon "the un-Hellenic public" and to say, "Cultivate your own spirit," "Cherish light and sweetness," and "Look at me and aspire to your own best self." This delicate self-worship is so characteristic of Goethe that it is no wonder if we find a suspicion of it in his admirer. It is not pleasant to classify Arnold with Marcus Aurelius, Goethe, Carlyle, and Emerson in that "marge" of the "Inferno," the limbo of the good heathen, "who served not God aright," though "all their words were tuneful sweet;" but where else shall we put him?

His first volume of poems, given nameless to the world in 1849, made us start as if another of the immortals were come, and so it proved. In song he followed those who were his masters in culture, striving "Wordsworth's sweet calm and Goethe's wide and luminous view to gain." He took up poetry seriously, believing its office is "to sustain, to console us, to interpret life for us." "For poetry the idea is everything; the rest is a world of illusion, of divine illusion. Poetry attaches its emotions to the idea; the idea is the fact. The strongest part of our religion to-day is its unconscious poetry." "Science, philosophy, religion are incomplete without it, and most of what now passes for them will be replaced by poetry." His poetry is, therefore, no idle warbling, but an intense criticism of life, in which he worked from an overmastering sense of duty. All his poems have dignity, grace, much of spiritual unrest and somewhat of the healing balm that nature gives.

Thus, after Rustum in desperate fight has, unawares, slain his son Sohrab, who, at dying, makes himself known, how quietly the Oxus leaves Sohrab in his gore and Rustum in his agony and tears!

But the majestic river floated on,
Out of the mist and hum of that low land,
Into the frosty starlight, and there moved,
Rejoicing, through the hushed Chorasman waste
Under the solitary moon; . . .

. . . till at last
The longed-for dash of waves is heard, and wide
His luminous home of waters opens, bright
And tranquil, from whose floor the new-bathed stars
Emerge and shine upon the Aral Sea.

He comes to nature, not like Byron in "Childe Harold," to pour upon it his own "sparkling gloom," or like Coleridge at Chamouni, to fill it with his own lofty rapture, but only to find relief and rest. By the lake he says:

How sweet to feel, on the boon air,
All our unquiet pulses cease!

In his "Summer Night,"

And the calm moonlight seems to say,
"Hast thou, then, still the old unquiet breast?"

And further on he exclaims :

Ye heavens, whose pure dark regions have no sign
Of languor, though so calm and though so great,
And yet untroubled and unpassionate;

A world above man's head, to let him see
How boundless might his soul's horizon be.

In "Kensington Gardens" he says :

Calm soul of all things! make it mine
To feel, amid the city's jar,
That there abides a place of thine
Man did not make and cannot mar.

Nowhere in his pictures of nature, given in the most musical of English and in style flowing, bright, and tender do we find the deep gladness of Wordsworth or the organ-toned joy of Milton.

He is sad, unbelieving, and self-absorbed, and it is given him to sing the beautiful "as he thinketh in his heart." Sincerely as he worked for advance in education, in his poems the men of to-day lack greatness. "There hath passed away a glory from the earth." The wash of waves at Dover tells him, as the sigh of the Ægean told Sophocles, the endless tale of mortal sorrow. Christianity, that revived the old world when it was weary, is now in its turn "outworn," and men once more are waning. Therefore he goes far back for his heroes and even for his meters. His "Sick King in Bokhara" is truly dramatic, his completest work of art, and best displays his temper and genius. In none of his poems, nor in all of them together, do we as here find the whole of Mr. Arnold—his dignified self-poise, that unrest agreeing strangely with the calm of helplessness, that daintiness of allusion and transparent simplicity, and these rich and artistic in color and setting. How beautiful is this from "Tristram," that rhapsody from the fruitful Arthurian legends! It is a description of Iseult after the death of her husband and that of her rival, living with her children as in a dim and moonlit dream :

Joy hath not found her yet nor ever will.
Is it this thought that makes her mien so still,
Her features so fatigued, her eyes, though sweet,
So sunk, so rarely lifted save to meet

Her children's? She moves slow; her voice alone
Hath yet an infantine and silvery tone,
But even that comes languidly; in truth,
She seems one dying in the mask of youth.

On the whole, Mr. Arnold's best service to literature was in criticism. He freely admits that in literary work the creative power is greater than the critical power; its exercise is man's highest activity and gives him his highest happiness. Creative epochs are rare, because in them the power of the man must concur with the power of the moment as shown by its current ideas, on which creative power must operate. Thus the epochs of Elizabeth and of Pericles were from this concurrence so richly creative. The business of the critical power in all branches is "to see the object as in itself it really is." This should precede the exercise of the creative power, in order that this latter may know the material on which it is to work. The poet needs to read poetry widely and carefully that he may safely proceed to create his own. Then comes the critic's task to test and set forth the value of what is created.

The range of Arnold's criticism was wide. It reached from Homer to Shelley. The Celtic bards might rise to thank him for his service. Nor did he neglect the doctrines and movements of his own passing day. His views of Emerson were certainly free from illusion, at least from such as Americans may have. We who, in fervid youth, shook Emerson's hand and heard his charming voice were sure that a demigod was among us. At the Wesleyan University fifty years ago the "powerful mind" read and understood his "Essays." The others were as the people in Andersen's little story, where the emperor walks naked at the head of the procession, who are told that if they fail to see his royal apparel it is from some sin of their own; so all are eager to chant their praise of his magic robes. So we fell into unison with the "powerful mind." How many since have in chorus lauded poems incoherent and essays incomprehensible! And now Mr. Arnold, in his fearless effort to get at the best that is known and thought in the world, showed to a Boston audience why Emerson was not a great poet, not a great writer, not a great propounder of philosophy! "He is the friend and aider of those who would live in the spirit." Just what we average boys thought, but we dared not assume to

say it. Emerson had discoursed richly to us of honesty, veracity, and hope; but soon he was beyond us, and, like Browning's poetry, he is beyond us still. Only we saw him so serene and kindly as he voiced his Delphic enigmas. In efforts like this to learn and propagate the best that is thought and known in the world, to subject to fair but close scrutiny ideas, doctrines, and institutions, Arnold put forth his most serious exertions. There is a charm about his prose and about his poetry, though neither may reach the highest classic rank. If with his other gifts he had possessed the joy that comes of deep Christian faith, he would have diffused "sweetness and light" indeed.

One seems in all his writings to hear that sob of the *Ægean*, the plaint of a soul shut out from its highest satisfaction; but no English poet has shown soul-hunger so delicately or given negatives in form and color so fascinating. No English critic of our day has been more discriminating, clear, and instructive. His keen sparkle of insight and expression may be lost upon "the majority," but "the remnant," who in the long run rule the world's thinking, will not willingly let it die; and Arnold will stand as a helper of the human mind for his own generation and beyond. He will long be discernible in the perspective of our period's literature.

A. B. Hyde

ART. III.—THE ROMAN CATHOLIC DOCTRINE AND
LAW OF MARRIAGE.

THE fact that the Roman Catholic doctrine of marriage holds it to be one of the seven sacraments is apt to induce in Protestants an apprehension of a wider difference from our view than really exists; while, on the other hand, at various subordinate but important points the difference is in fact much wider than is commonly understood. The consequence of this duplex misconception is a general dislocation of popular ideas among Protestants on the subject, a dislocation which sometimes appears where we should little expect it. We have, therefore, prepared the present statement of the Roman Catholic doctrine and law of marriage after a careful collation of high Catholic authorities continued for a number of years, and have aimed—while presenting with but little divergence into controversy the actual theory of the Church of Rome—at bringing into suitable relief those features of her doctrine concerning which it is peculiarly important that Protestants should be rightly informed. Particular pains have been taken, with the help of various eminent authors, to distinguish between positions as simply permitted, prevailing, universal, official, or of strictly dogmatic force. The latter are not so many as is commonly supposed.

In popular conception the widest difference between the Roman Catholic and the prevailing Protestant doctrine of marriage is that the former affirms and the latter denies marriage to be a sacrament. If this were really so, if Protestantism generally, like Luther himself, held marriage to be “a mere bodily thing,” leaving Rome to defend Christian marriage as having a far higher character, it would be very little to our honor. In reality, however, the controversy is rather over words than things. On the one hand, Rome, and that under the late and the present pontiffs, expressly declares marriage to be a contract. On the other hand, evangelical Protestantism everywhere acknowledges that Christ raised marriage to a specifically higher dignity than that of a contract, making it the channel both of natural blessings and of rich spiritual graces, such as enable a wedded pair to discharge their relation to each other

and to their offspring more perfectly. The two views, therefore, do not appear to differ essentially. Rome, accordingly, has authoritatively pronounced that a marriage between two baptized persons, seriously intended as a Christian union, does not become invalid from the mere fact that the parties do not call it sacramental. She even declares that to deprive it of this character there is required a positive "prevailing intention" in one of the parties that it shall not be a Christian marriage. In this latter case Rome holds that if not sacramental it is not a marriage at all.

The irreconcilable difference, therefore, between us and Rome lies, not in the sacramental doctrine, but in the almost unrestricted right claimed by her to prescribe conditions over and above those of natural morality on which alone the contract shall be valid. These not only respect her actual subjects, but largely extend to baptized Protestants. Thus, besides maintaining the invalidity of an undispensed marriage between a baptized and an unbaptized person, not as intrinsic, but as of long-established ecclesiastical use, she holds all restrictions involving invalidity, or, as she calls them, diriment impediments, which have prevailed from before the separation, to be still in force for baptized Protestants. For instance, she pronounces void all undispensed marriages between all baptized persons whatever having the same great-grandparent, even when the fact was unknown. She is therefore logically bound to declare void the marriage of the Queen of England with the late prince consort and a great part of the marriages of Protestant princes, as well as countless private marriages. This impediment also applies to all standing in such a relation to a former husband or wife. Moreover, anyone, even a layman, baptizing another, becomes incapable, without a dispensation, of marrying the baptized person or his or her parent. The same disability rests on a sponsor at baptism or confirmation. And, as Rome directs that in matrimonial questions Protestant baptism shall be presumed valid, the same impediments, excepting as to confirmation, would be held to vitiate marriages between baptized Protestants.

The statement, however, so often made among us, that Rome accounts all marriages between Protestants as being merely "filthy concubinages," is so far from being true that it does not even apply to the above-mentioned marriages among us

which she accounts void. It is a well-settled principle of her ecclesiastical law that an invalid marriage not contrary to natural morality is so far to be considered that, when its invalidity is discovered, no Church censure shall be involved, provided the parties then separate or obtain a dispensation, and that children previously born shall be legitimate. Thus, soon after 1200 Innocent III, though requiring Philip Augustus of France to take back his lawful wife, Ingeborg, and to send away Agnes of Meran, made no difficulty in acknowledging Agnes's children as legitimate, since the marriage, though contracted in bad faith by the king, was contracted in good faith by Agnes on the strength of a sentence of the French bishops. Lately, also, the marriage of the Prince and Princess of Monaco was declared void, while their children, doubtless on the same ground, were pronounced legitimate. Roman doctrine therefore holds the subjective guilt of unchastity to be involved in marriages void on the ground of natural or spiritual relationship only when the impediment is known, and known by the contracting parties as applying to them, which of course does not hold good of Protestant marriages. In this latter case, if either party goes over to Rome a dispensation obtained "heals" the marriage, and may even "heal it in the root"—that is, give it retroactively the same juridical effects as if it had been valid from the beginning, including certain advantages not involved in ordinary legitimation. The phrase "filthy concubinages," occurring in an encyclical of Pius IX, is so far from applying to Protestant marriages that it does not even apply to irregular Roman Catholic marriages in Protestant countries. It is used solely of Roman Catholics in Roman Catholic countries who, knowing the law of the Council of Trent which requires for validity the presence of the Catholic pastor or his deputy to be prevailing there, content themselves with a merely civil marriage. In Protestant countries, with a few local exceptions, this *Lex Claudestinitatis*, as it is called, has never been proclaimed; while in Roman Catholic countries it is held not to apply to Protestants where their ecclesiastical system antedates the Council of Trent, and where, therefore, they have not been *de facto* members of the parishes in which it was published.

Before going further, however, let us consider the accepted Roman Catholic definition of marriage. It is this: Marriage is

a mutual contract or consent, between a man and a woman capable of the relation, by which there is a present mutual surrender and acceptance, each of the other, as having the full rights, spiritual and physical, of the married state. Of course Rome teaches that marriage, binding and indissoluble, though not as yet a sacramental contract conveying specific grace, was instituted by God, as simply dual, in the garden of Eden. The question whether indissolubility and monogamy rested in the very nature of the relation or were simultaneously added by positive divine legislation is debated among Catholic theologians, with a prevailing tendency to the latter opinion. Accordingly, it is held that after the flood God, in view of human perversity, was able, without violating the absolute nature of his own institutions, which of course is impossible, to grant mankind a dispensation for polygamy and for divorce. Both dispensations, it is held, have been revoked by Christ for all mankind. The single dispensation which he is held to have granted under the new law will be mentioned presently.

In a wider sense all pure marriages from the beginning are viewed as having been sacramental, and before the fall in a very eminent degree. In the specific sense, however, in which the Church now uses the term "sacrament" only marriages between the baptized are held sacramental. Marriages between the unbaptized, if consonant with natural morality, are viewed as chaste, obligatory, and, so long as both parties remain unbaptized, indissoluble, but not as belonging to the supernatural order, and therefore not sacramental. If one of the parties is afterward baptized it is held that the Church, in this solitary case, has authority from Christ to pronounce a dissolution of a valid and consummated marriage, especially where the unbaptized party refuses to live "without contumely of the Creator." In this case alone permission is given to marry during the life of the other party. Where a Jewish wife, however, having been divorced by her husband, afterward becomes a Catholic, she may be forbidden to marry again if her husband is willing to renew the relation and to respect her Christian profession, every such divorce from a valid marriage, since Christ, being viewed by the Church as null. The Greek Church from an early time (at least since 692) has held heresy as a diriment impediment, absolutely voiding a subsequent marriage with an

orthodox Christian. The Roman Church has always held it to be merely an impedient impediment where the heretic is a baptized person, rendering the marriage without dispensation unlawful and punishable, sometimes even to the point of permanent separation, but leaving it sacramental and indissoluble if the prescribed conditions of validity be complied with. Priests in this country are said sometimes to frighten parishioners into believing such a marriage void. If so they must be either grossly ignorant or grossly fraudulent, and therefore liable to deposition.

The principal ground of Protestant confusion of idea respecting the Roman doctrine of marriage is the notion that sacramental means sacerdotal. This error might be corrected by observing that the fundamental sacrament, baptism, even when administered irregularly and censurably by a lay person or by a Jew or pagan, is received by the Church as valid if due attention is paid to manner, form, and ritual intent. Sacramental, therefore, does not of necessity mean sacerdotal. In the case of marriage, however (the one other sacrament administrable by lay persons), there are complications which need a more explicit development. Roman Catholic theology holds that Christ, as incarnate, has not created marriage nor altered its essence, but has elevated it for the baptized, and for them alone, from the simple order of nature into the supernatural or regenerate order of grace. Its substance, therefore, consists now, as always, in the mutual consent of parties competent to contract. But within the pale of baptism this consent, being no longer purely natural, but within the supernatural order (even though the contracting parties should not be at the time in a state of grace), is at once a consent and a sacrament. The priest, therefore, is not a minister of the sacrament, but the consenting parties are themselves, as Archbishop Heiss virtually expresses it, the complex minister. In the early Church the benediction of the bishop or, as numbers increased, of a presbyter was enjoined, as contributing to dignity, holiness, and full moral ratification, but not as intrinsically essential. Nor where an unbaptized couple have become Catholic has a renewal of their marriage ever been required by the Church, although of course we cannot answer for all the eccentricities of local ignorance or bigotry. The baptism of the married

pair, introducing them into the supernatural order, is held to raise their marriage, already valid, into sacramental sanctity, though some divines advise a private renewal of consent. There are those, it is true, who hold it, though remaining valid, to remain nonsacramental.

This view of the parties as being themselves the ministers of both the contract and the sacrament has always been the prevailing one. Previous to the Council of Trent simply consensual marriages were very frequent and, though censured, were acknowledged by the Church. Some divines, however, maintained such marriages to be void, no formal doctrine of faith having been published concerning them; and many, though still a decided minority, held them to be valid indeed, but not sacramental, viewing the priest, though not necessary to a true contract, as being yet essential to a true sacrament of marriage. The Council of Trent condemned the former opinion, but left the latter free. In a decree guarded by anathema and papally ratified, and therefore by the overwhelming majority viewed as irrevocably binding on faith, the council declares that "clandestine marriages," that is, marriages *sine paroko et testibus*, without clergyman and witness, are valid wherever the Church has not declared that they shall be void. The council, moreover, provides that the *Lex Clandestinitatis*, requiring for validity the presence of the parish clergyman or a deputed priest and two witnesses, shall not come into force in any parish until thirty days after a formal promulgation. Such a publication has never been made by Rome in parishes situated in Protestant countries (with some local exceptions), and has been revoked for mixed marriages in Holland, Belgium, Hungary, Poland, Ireland, Canada, the Rhine dioceses of Prussia, and various other regions. In these Catholic countries, therefore, Holland too being under the law of Trent, the validity of mixed marriages is independent of the presence of a clergyman; while in Protestant countries, speaking generally, marriages contracted by Roman Catholics themselves without a Catholic clergyman are held highly censurable indeed (except where clergymen are not to be had), but valid and indissoluble.

I have thus far treated it as the certain doctrine of Rome that whenever a marriage, sacerdotal or nonsacerdotal, between baptized persons is valid it is also sacramental. This is prac-

tically true, although even the allocution of September 27, 1852, given by Pius IX, not being distinctly *ex cathedra*, is not absolutely conclusive. Yet this so fully and authoritatively expresses and confirms the general judgment of the Church in all ages, declaring "that, between baptized persons [*inter fideles*], marriage cannot exist without being at one and the same time a sacrament," that it seems now to be agreed on all hands that the previous minority opinion, holding nonsacerdotal marriages contracted in regions not bound by the *Lex Clandestinitatis* as valid and binding indeed, but nonsacramental, can no longer be maintained. They must be acknowledged henceforth by all, as always by most, as valid, indissoluble, and sacramental.

The place of the parish clergyman, therefore, in his parish, of the bishop throughout his diocese, and of the pope throughout the Church, when confirming a marriage is not that of a celebrant in the strict sense, but of a "public witness," whose presence, where the Church requires it, is necessary to the validity of the contract and, indirectly, though not directly, of the sacrament. Accordingly, a parish clergyman, bishop, or pope when once instituted is immediately competent to ratify a marriage within his jurisdiction, even though not yet ordained to the priesthood, and therefore still incapable of any strictly sacerdotal act. A deputy, however, must always be a priest. Nor does an excommunicate pastor or bishop lose this right so long as he retains the title of his benefice. Nor is it needful for validity that he should utter a word. Indeed, in various cases of mixed marriage he is forbidden to speak a word, rendering only what is called "passive assistance." His presence is esteemed sufficient for ratification even when compelled; nay, where, being carried bodily to the nuptials, he has covered his eyes and ears so that he could neither hear nor see, Rome has pronounced the marriage firm, since he could have heard and seen if he would, and therefore was morally present. Intention and activity are necessary in the administration of a sacrament; but as he is here only a required witness, in certain parts of the Church, while it is the parties who administer the sacrament to themselves, his mere bodily presence is sufficient. Even when, as commonly, he uses the words "I join you," this is merely a solemn ratification of the sacramental consent of the parties which, alone, is intrinsically indispensable, and may

be given either by words or signs, either by themselves or by an accredited agent. Many people have a vague idea that without the nuptial benediction they are hardly married. The Church, however, does not require this benediction, or always allow it. Mixed marriages, even when sacerdotally celebrated, are not blessed, nor even a second marriage of a widow. The clergy are directed to instruct their people that the nuptial benediction "appertains to the greater solemnity of marriage, but not to its essence."

Rome holds and teaches that a sacramental marriage is indissoluble by any power on earth when once the parties have lived together as husband and wife. If they have not, then even a sacramental marriage is dissolved by a monastic profession of either party or by a papal dispensation. There are thus three stages of marriage. Those between the unbaptized are simply *vera*. Those between the baptized are *vera atque rata*. These latter are absolutely indissoluble only when they are *vera, rata, atque consummata*. The Council of Trent, however, although it anathematizes all who shall maintain "that the Church errs when she has taught and teaches, according to the evangelical and apostolic doctrine, that the bond of marriage cannot be dissolved on account of the adultery of one of the parties," has, nevertheless, taken care to abstain from directly anathematizing the different doctrine of the Greek Church, which holds, like most Protestants, that even the bond of marriage, if not dissolved, is at least dissolvable by adultery. Rome, having never accused the Greek Church of heresy, but only of schism, and revering her unmistakable and conspicuous zeal for doctrinal orthodoxy, which appears in her very title of the orthodox oriental Church, has been unwilling to make the breach irreparable by denouncing her as heretical. Accordingly, the Greek and prevailing Protestant position, though plainly contradicted by the declarations of Trent, may, it appears, be defended without the imputation of actually opposing the faith; and it is doubtful whether, in that one tenth or one fifteenth of the Roman Catholic Church which adheres to the Eastern rites and discipline, the Eastern doctrine of marriage may not be quietly acted upon with the tacit allowance of Rome, which has as good a capacity as the rest of us, not to say a better, of shutting her eyes and ears to any variations of opinion or prac-

tice which it might be impossible to suppress. We hazard this conjecture, however, only as agreeing very well with her general relations to her subjects of the Eastern rites, not as a matter of certain knowledge, although it is confirmed by the immediate occasion which moved Trent to intermit the anathema, namely, the fear of driving certain affiliated Eastern communions into revolt.

In the West, of course, for many centuries, although marriages innumerable, especially those of princes and of nobles, have been severed by the Church on the most trivial pretenses, these separations have never been divorces in our sense, but declarations of original nullity. It is said, and apparently on excellent evidence, that the ecclesiastical courts in England under the earlier Tudors parted man and wife as recklessly as even our American courts. They always did so, however, under the pretense of an original flaw, thus consecrating venal looseness by unctuous hypocrisy. The Reformation has elevated the standard of married fidelity, as of general morality and devotion, in England (though perhaps at the expense of a temporary decline of both), and the counter-reformation has greatly purified the ecclesiastical courts of Rome; while Trent, by cutting off a large part of the old impediments to marriage, has compelled a much stricter procedure in these courts. On the whole, therefore, contemporary Catholicism practically holds its adherents to the matrimonial theory of the Church. The dissolution under military constraint of Napoleon and Josephine's marriage, and on the pretence of nullity of that of Jerome and Elizabeth Patterson, was tolerated, but never confirmed, by the high-minded Pius VII.

We hear so much in history of Henry VIII's application for a divorce that we are apt, mixing modern practice with the older theory, to misconceive the case fundamentally. Henry never dreamed of asking the pope to allow him to marry a second wife while his first was living. Setting aside some flitting notions of bigamy (like that of Philip of Hesse, afterward reluctantly sanctioned by Luther) which, though ventilated by a cardinal, would undoubtedly have been rejected by the Church with horror, Henry, with universal Western Christendom, viewed a second valid marriage while his first wife was living as impossible. What he desired was that the pope should

declare that Catherine, as his brother's widow, had never really been his wife, since the papal permission had trenched upon a prohibition, not of the Church, but of God, and was therefore void; as, for instance, all allow that a dispensation for a father to marry a daughter would be wholly ineffective and abominable. Opinions were seriously divided. Between the emperor, Catherine's nephew, and the king, her husband, Clement VII was at his wit's end; and the famous University of Bologna boldly gave sentence for Henry. His case, therefore, was not so frivolous as we, in our just reverence for Isabella's noble daughter, have been wont to imagine.

There is one feature of Catherine's case which seems to show that the Roman Catholic law of marriage was as yet vaguer than now. It was proposed to her to enter into "lax religion," by taking a vow of continence, without espousing a monastic rule, thus leaving her husband free to marry again. But such a vow, taken by a married mother, would now have no force whatever to dissolve the bond of marriage, even though permitted or solicited by the husband. Henry, therefore, after marrying Anne, accounted her his first, not his second, wife. After tiring of her and obtaining a second declaration of nullity from his obsequious primate he esteemed Jane Seymour as really his first wife; and this marriage was never questioned. At the close of his life he only acknowledged himself as having been the husband of two wives, Jane Seymour and Catherine Parr, passing over in silence the status of Catherine Howard. The ground on which he declared null his marriage with Anne Boleyn, namely, that she had been precontracted to another man, would now be viewed by Rome as staining a subsequent marriage, but not voiding it. In those days of consensual marriages, however, when betrothals varied uncertainly between contracts *de futuro* and *de presenti*, it was easy, where the interests of the great required, to represent a betrothal as really a marriage and, therefore, as a diriment impediment to a subsequent union.

It is often said, as for instance in a volume of Unitarian essays, that Rome, for money, will license a princely or ducal applicant to commit the sin of incest. This accusation is unjust. Rome holds herself incompetent, under any circumstances, to grant a dispensation for marriage between an ascendant and descendant or a brother and sister. She does not hold a

marriage between an uncle and niece or between an aunt and nephew as forbidden by God, but only by the Church, from an unquestionable sense of decency and reverence. What the Church forbids, not God, the Church, it is held, may, on grave grounds, especially of public policy, allow. The late Duke of Aosta, therefore, in marrying Letitia Bonaparte under papal license, was not, in the view of Rome or in his own, guilty of incest, but the true husband of a true wife, his marriage with whom, having been invalid only because ecclesiastically forbidden, became valid as soon as ecclesiastically allowed. Rome might well be asked how she could justify the violation of natural reverence involved in such a marriage. The State might well be asked the same. We may well assume that the Unitarian accuser of Rome and of King Amadeus, as well as his ten thousand orthodox associates, if they met with an uncle and niece, or even an aunt and nephew, legally married, would not summon them to separate as living in incest, as they would a brother and sister. Then why do they accuse Rome, not accusing the State, of licensing the sin of incest?

For a marriage between a stepparent and stepchild, where the violation of reverence due to both the living and the dead is so shockingly gross, Rome never concedes a dispensation. Whatever her faults of theory or of administration (and the latter, in past ages rather than in present, have often been enormous), she has never accepted the absolutely animal theory of John Bright, who proposed that the law should recognize no restraints on marriage except such as are purely physical; so that, if science should give assurance that a particular union between parent and child involved no danger of congenital imperfection to descendants, he would have been bound, on his own showing, to allow it. Our entire way of viewing certain social selections formed by marriage as inducing a moral impediment to subsequent marriages within their limits we are now told is finical and prudish, and that it does not fall within the competency of the State, or apparently of the Church, to enforce pudicity. Physical detriment, we are assured, is the only thing against which legislation has any right to guard. I need not say that this "pig philosophy," as Carlyle would call it, has never been acknowledged by Rome, any more than by general Christianity, by Judaism, by Mohammedanism, or, with the monstrous exception of Zoroas-

trianism, by any ethically developed school of paganism. That it prevails so widely and increasingly in our country is simply one of the many proofs of that individualistic self-will which says of every moral restraint that deals with interests not coarsely palpable, "Let us break their bands asunder, and cast away their cords from us."

I have said that an undispensed marriage between a baptized and an unbaptized person is held by Rome to be absolutely null. With a dispensation it is accounted valid and indissoluble. The question is debated whether it is sacramental for the baptized party. Yet as the consent is mutual, and as the unbaptized party is confessedly incapable of giving a sacramental consent, the negative side asks with force how the nuptial contract can be sacramental. If a marriage of this kind, contracted with authority, is disturbed by contumelious and persecuting behavior on the part of the unbaptized partner, the Church authorizes a Catholic thus fettered to apply for a separation, but not for a divorce *a vinculo*. The Third Plenary Council of Baltimore publishes in its proceedings a series of questions on this subject sent from this country and answered by Rome. The answers of Rome are to this general effect: If the deserting husband was the son of Baptists he is to be presumed unbaptized, and his forsaken wife, as her union with him was null, may marry again. If he was the son of parents belonging to a sect allowing infant baptism, but not requiring it, he is to be presumed unbaptized, and she may marry again. If his parents were zealous members of a zealously pedobaptist sect he is to be presumed baptized, and she must wait till his death, unless, of course, she learns positively that he was unbaptized. If his parents were indifferent members of a zealously pedobaptist sect the detailed evidence may be transmitted to Rome, which will then decide. If one parent was a zealous and the other an indifferent pedobaptist the decision depends on the question which of them controlled the religious education of the son.

These questions show how far Rome is from desiring to deal lightly with the marriages of baptized Protestants. She directs, moreover, that where the fact of baptism is ascertained its validity shall always be assumed, *in ordine ad matrimonium*. We Protestants are famous for finding mares' nests in the Roman Catholic Church. For instance, every now and then it is

announced with bated breath, as a mystery lately excavated out of the Roman catacombs or the Vatican grottoes, that the Church actually allows that under some conditions even Protestants may be saved—a mere commonplace of Catholic, especially of Jesuit, theology, for generations past. So also it is sometimes announced as a wonderful proof of growing liberality that a sister of charity has been allowed to marry, and has even been married with great state in a Roman Catholic cathedral! Now this signifies nothing in the world. A sister of charity engages herself but for a year at a time. When this expires she is always free to marry, and there is no more reason why she should not be married in state than why any other Catholic woman should not be. Even the marriages of nuns proper and of monks not in major orders, though involving excommunication, are in large measure received as valid. Nuns in this country and England, with some exceptions, are only admitted to take simple vows. Moreover, all monks, friars, and nuns (unless by special papal allowance) are now required, for the first three years after their profession, to remain under simple vows. But simple vows are only an impedient, not a diriment, impediment to marriage; that is, they render it censurable, but leave it sacramental and indissoluble. In the case of the Jesuits alone simple vows are a diriment impediment, except after dismissal from the society. So long, therefore, as a woman is not admitted to solemn vows, and so long as a man is either not under solemn vows or ordained a subdeacon, a contracted marriage is acknowledged, even though punished, by the Church. Holy orders, from subdeacon up, are allowed to be a diriment impediment to a subsequent marriage, unless, of course, there is a papal dispensation, or unless, as sometimes in the East, the ordination has taken place in early childhood, in which case Rome provides that the man, though spiritually retaining his orders, is yet free, on growing up, to live altogether as a layman if he will. A dispensed priest (of whom there are very few indeed) must, on marrying, surrender his functions, although he may shrive a penitent *in extremis*. A deacon or subdeacon (more easily dispensed) must surrender his not very important functions entirely. It is not certain that more than one bishop has been dispensed to marry since the present discipline was established. Talleyrand, it is true, was a bishop, but the pope

always refused to acknowledge his marriage. Cæsar Borgia, though an archbishop, had never been consecrated or even ordained a priest.

A paragraph peculiarly calculated to stir up animosity in Protestant minds has been widely circulated throughout the country, as follows: "Rome pronounces null and void every marriage not declared by one of her priests." Now, it would be impossible to compress a greater number of misstatements into so short a sentence. First, three fourths of human marriages, those of the unbaptized, are declared by Rome entirely out of her jurisdiction, but acknowledged by her as being, if agreeable to general Christian morality, chaste, binding, and licitly continuing even after the baptism of one or both the parties. Even a private renewal of consent, though suggested by some divines as a means of elevating these marriages to sacramental rank, is not required by the Church. Secondly, Rome punishes with the greater excommunication the assertion that nonsacerdotal marriages between baptized Christians are void outside the proclaimed limits of the *Lex Clandestinitatis*, and, since 1852 at least, frowns on the refusal to accept such nonsacerdotal marriages as being also sacramental. Thirdly, Rome has decided that, as the parties, not the clergy, are the ministers of the sacrament, it is not requisite, even under the *Lex Clandestinitatis*, that the celebrant should be an ordained priest, if only he has the title of a parochial or diocesan benefice. Fourthly, she has decided that his merely bodily presence suffices, without any declaration on his part whatever. This sentence, therefore, is a perfect Pandora's box of injurious and wholly unwarranted accusations and, if we regard the ninth commandment as having any application to our relations with Rome, should be revoked by its author and everywhere hunted down to extinction. Sharp controversy may be very salutary, but it is time that we began to dispatch controversial lies, as fast as we discover them, to their father, the devil.

As some parts of our country were until this century under French and others under Spanish dominion, the *Lex Clandestinitatis* for Roman Catholic marriages is still in force throughout a good many districts of the United States. We extract from Lehmkuhl's *Theologia Moralis* an exact account, dating from 1887, of the bounds within which Roman Catholic

marriages contracted without an authorized clergyman are pronounced by the Church null and void. It will serve to correct various exaggerated extensions of these limits of the *Lex Clandestinitatis*, and also to impress us with the singular degree to which Rome makes the validity of the marriage contract dependent on arbitrary external conditions. In this respect it may be doubted whether she does not exceed almost any civil government in Christendom, since a relation intrinsically the same in all respects is declared on one side of a surveyor's line a sacramental marriage, and on the other "a filthy concubinage." "The *Lex Clandestinitatis*, accordingly, is in force as controlling Roman Catholic marriages: (1) In the archiepiscopal provinces of New Orleans (extending to the west line of Georgia), Santa Fé (excepting northern Colorado), San Francisco, with Utah (excepting eastward of the Colorado River); in the diocese of Vincennes; in the city of St. Louis, with the suburbs of St. Genevieve, St. Ferdinand, and St. Charles; and in four parishes of the diocese of Alton, namely, Kaskaskia, Cahokia, French Village, and Prairie du Rocher." Every other part of the United States is exempt from the *Lex Clandestinitatis*, except that it is, with wily caution, provided that for every Catholic who erroneously believes the law of Trent to be in force where he marries it shall be in force. Such a man, so to speak, pulls it down on his own head. There is no part of our country in which marriages between baptized Protestants are held subject, for validity, to the law of Trent, unless it should be New Mexico and southern Colorado, as to which Rome has never given a final decision. As Protestantism there is recent, very possibly the severer school would declare even Protestants there bound by the *Lex Clandestinitatis*.

Mr. Gladstone affirms, in his pamphlets on Vaticanism, that should Rome proclaim the *Lex Clandestinitatis* in Great Britain she would be obliged to treat all subsequent Protestant marriages in the island as null and void. She would certainly not be so obliged; and the general trend of Roman Catholic theology in our time seems to be the other way. He overlooks the fact that the law of Trent comes into force, not by virtue of a national proclamation, but in each parish by virtue of a special publication. Were there accordingly ten thousand Roman Catholic parishes in Great Britain, the promulgation

of the *Lex Clandestinitatis* in nine thousand nine hundred and ninety-nine would leave the ten thousandth parish wholly unaffected and exempt. Moreover, according to the general tenor of Roman Catholic authorities, including even the Jesuits, Protestants are confessedly untouched by the *Lex Clandestinitatis* in countries where they enjoyed an organized and permitted worship before 1563, in countries which, though then Catholic, have since become so prevailingly Protestant that the law of Trent has long fallen out of use, even for Roman Catholics. Cardinal Newman, indeed, with other divines, denies that a Protestant couple is ever bound by the *Lex Clandestinitatis*; but in this he appears to have Jesuit authority and the trend of the Roman decisions against him, although the chief pontiff himself has never pronounced a conclusive judgment on this point. Pending such a final decision the Roman congregations of the council appear to take the view that, wherever in any region the law of Trent was not proclaimed until after the Protestants had an organized system of their own, still maintained, or where, having been proclaimed, it has fallen into disuse, Protestant marriages valid on other conditions are to be acknowledged; but that otherwise they are to go for naught. Accordingly, were Rome to-morrow to promulgate the law of Trent in every Roman Catholic parish north of the Channel, it may be safely assumed that this would not, from her point of view, affect the validity of Protestant marriages in the Protestant island. The Protestants, as the Jesuit Lehmkuhl remarks, being separated into societies of their own, cannot be regarded as members of the Catholic parishes in any such sense as that the promulgation can be juridically apprehended as made to them. Yet this, it is held, would not apply to Protestant societies formed, as now in Italy, Spain, Mexico, and Brazil, by secession from parishes already standing under the law of Trent. Protestant marriages, at least of natives, in all these countries, will doubtless be treated by the Roman Church as null and void, as being "filthy concubinages" in an aggravated degree.

The question may be raised whether a Roman Catholic clergyman is permitted to marry a Protestant or an unbaptized couple. It appears that he may, acting simply as a magistrate, without any *communicatio in sacris*—that is, without any reli-

gious rite. At least this may be permitted in the second case, if not in the first, as the unbaptized are not viewed as rebels against the Church, and the priest is therefore guilty of no complicity with rebellion in assisting them to enter into a relation which, though not sacramental, is esteemed wholly legitimate. Indeed, in this case he might possibly offer a prayer, though not impart a benediction. On the other hand, the Church treats it as a mortal sin for one of her children to use the services of an heretical clergyman either before, after, or without the ceremony of his own religion, at least where the religious rites of Protestantism are employed. She grudgingly tolerates his appearing before the Protestant minister, in cases of mixed marriage, where the heretical party insists upon it, provided it is agreed that there shall be no religious ceremony whatever, but that the Protestant clergyman shall act purely as a civil magistrate or legally accredited witness. Here, however, as we know, her children are in fact often very inattentive to her monitions, contenting themselves with some slight amends of confession and nominal penance.

What authority over marriage does the Roman Church attribute to the State? Over the marriages of the unbaptized she concedes an indefinite authority, claiming no jurisdiction over them for herself, so long as the parties remained unbaptized. Impediments of merely ecclesiastical enactment are acknowledged to have no application to them. But over the marriages of the baptized, Catholic, schismatical, or heretical, she claims complete and exclusive authority, leaving to the State only authority over the mere circumstances and fringes of the relation and its temporal consequences, such as the rights of succession and dower. It is certain, from express, peremptory, repeated, and recent declarations of the chief pontiffs, crowning a long series of papal and conciliar declarations, that the Roman Catholic Church maintains, not indeed as of faith, but as morally certain, that all marriages of the baptized, and especially all marriages between the baptized, as having been raised into the supernatural order, belong exclusively to her competence. She alone can impose invalidating impediments. She alone can remove them. She alone can determine a marriage to be valid and a subsequent marriage null, or null and the subsequent marriage valid. She alone can pronounce children legitimate

or illegitimate. These decisions of hers are of immediate civil efficacy, binding civil judges in conscience to act accordingly. The refusal of governments to accept them is an act of civil and spiritual rebellion. At most they can but suspend such sentences for appeal from a national church to the Church of Rome, whose decision, once given by the pope, is conclusive as to the case in hand. If the State, without contradicting the Church, adds new impediments, these may bind, by the fear of ill consequences, but not as intrinsically obligatory on the conscience. A Roman Catholic who contradicts any of these positions is not, indeed, excommunicated, but he is looked upon as of very doubtful Catholicity, a mere Gallican, only a few grades above a Protestant.

These various positions, avoiding minute particulars rather curious than important, all of them carefully tested by repeated collation of high authorities who have written within three centuries, especially of Archbishop Heiss, Lehmkuhl, Bellarmine, Cardinal Newman, the Catholic Dictionary, Wetzer and Welte's profoundly digested Encyclopedia, St. Alfonzo de Liguori, that exceedingly mild and careful, but profoundly learned and very clear-minded pope, Benedict XIV, and manifold decisions of Roman congregations and popes, resting upon the definitions and enactments of Trent, give us the essential lines, so far as concerns us, upon which the Roman Catholic doctrine and law of marriage have settled down in our day. As we have said at the beginning, it will be seen that at various points of great moment the Roman doctrine comes very near to us, and that at other points of great moment it recedes very far from us. As respects the point of chief moment to us as Christians Rome acknowledges unhesitatingly that the overwhelming majority of marriages between baptized Protestants in the United States are valid, sacramental, and indissoluble.

Charles C. Starbuck

ART. IV.—SOME ASPECTS OF EARLY CHRISTIANITY.

THE origin and development of Christianity are preeminently the miracle of the ages. The history of the world exhibits no similar phenomenon. While there are many clearly discernible human elements in this growth there will always necessarily be a residuum, a subtle force, underlying the whole movement that cannot be explained from the purely human standpoint. The first Christians were makers, not writers, of history. They were more concerned to leave their mark upon the world in deeds than in words. Thus it is that the early records are so meager, and thus it comes to pass that the origin of Christianity has received so many different explanations. How often has the solution of this problem been attempted! Nevertheless historians and theologians, philosophers and psychologists, are still at work upon it, sifting the materials, scrutinizing the original documents, and trying to peer a little deeper into the minds that indited the various records yet extant, or into the circumstances that called each particular record into existence.

One of the latest works of the many bearing upon this topic, and certainly one of the best, if not the best, now in print is entitled *Geschichte des Untergangs des griechisch-römischen Heidenthums*, by Victor Schultze, Professor in the University of Greifswald, 1887-92. Its two solid volumes, based almost entirely on original documents, apparently leave little more to be said on the subject of which they treat until additional materials shall be forthcoming. The author writes without a trace of warmth or enthusiasm. The deliberateness with which he reaches his conclusions and the judicial coldness with which he sets them forth carry conviction on almost every point. The view he takes of the motives of the early Christians and of the disinterested activity of the first converts is highly favorable. Even Constantine, whose conversion has often been characterized as a piece of statecraft and nothing more, is shown to have acted in sincerity and to have honestly believed what he professed. Let us glance rapidly over the first three Christian centuries, with special reference to the moral and social forces at work during this period.

Toward the end of the first century after Christ, Rome had

extended her sway until it was acknowledged almost without resistance over the civilized world. The utmost bounds of its power had been reached. The last formidable opposition, that of the Jews, had been overcome. An admirable system of highways had made intercommunication between the most remote parts of the country comparatively easy and rapid. This condition of things had not a little influence upon the spread of Christianity. A knowledge of the Greek language, especially in the East, seems to have been almost universal. The fact that the New Testament writings are all in this language is sufficient evidence of its universality. No doubt the dispersion of the early Christians from Palestine by devastating wars was greatly instrumental in the rapid spread of the new doctrine. While there is not much direct testimony as to the missionary labors of the first disciples, except Paul, the existence of many congregations in widely separated parts of the known world may be accepted as proof of the zeal and rapid multiplication of converts. The sway of the Roman government over so large an extent of territory was especially favorable to Christianity in one important particular. Not only was migration from one section of country to another made easy by military roads, but this system also served to break down any barriers that might be set up by one province against another. Ingress and egress were, doubtless, equally easy and safe.

Though the Roman empire was widely extended and nearly all its free subjects had become citizens, this class, nevertheless, embraced but a comparatively small portion of the entire population. It seems highly probable, however, that the condition of the slaves was in some respects preferable to that of a large number of the free citizens. In material regards they were not unfrequently better off, and the moral sentiment of the world had not yet become of sufficient weight against the institution of slavery to make its victims feel keenly the disgrace of their position. Nothing is more remarkable in the history of public opinion than the slowness of its development against what Wesley called the sum of villainies, unless it be the vehemence of that opinion when once it began to grow. We have no means of forming even an approximate estimate of the population of the Roman empire at this time. That it was greater than at the beginning of the fourth century

is probable, as war, pestilence, and famine, now in one region, now in another, doubtless made great havoc in the intervening period of two centuries. Several modern historians have estimated the number of people embraced within the civilized world when Christianity became the State religion. Schultze thinks it cannot have been far from one hundred millions, of which at least one tenth were nominally Christians, and about the same number Jews. Gibbon puts the number of Christians at five millions; Keim at more than three times this number. Most other authorities oscillate between these two extremes, with a general tendency toward the larger figures.

Before the advent of Christianity the barbarian element had virtually disappeared, especially in the East. Nowhere does it come to the surface. The Greeks were the predominant race, with a large admixture, though not intermixture, of Jews. It is safe to assume that neither were devoid of intelligence. It was not necessary, therefore, to create a civilization on which Christianity could be engrafted. As we penetrate further into the first Christian centuries the economic distress of the times becomes more and more apparent and pressing. But the majority of the people were too intelligent to resign themselves calmly to despair, like the Russian peasants of our day. Many were eager to enter upon any scheme that promised to better their temporal condition and to assist others who were most in need of aid. The feeling of kinship was stronger than it is in our day, though not the recognition of moral obligation to men as fellow-beings. The world was not indifferent to the practical teachings of peace and mutual help that Christianity brought to its attention. Hellenism was in one sense directly favorable to Christianity. The Greeks had no interest in the military projects of Rome, and their national character lacked the conservatism that was so marked a trait of the Romans. They held less tenaciously to customs and traditions simply because they were of immemorial usage. Besides, their lively curiosity made them ever ready to give heed to anything that promised to gratify it. The importance of this fact can be best appreciated by those who have had the opportunity or have taken the pains to study the Greeks as they are to-day. They are still, as they always have been, the progressive element among the people of the East. Greek literature

must at all times have been much read and studied. In some of its moral questions receive a large share of attention. Of the profane writers belonging to the first century of our era no one was probably better known than the kindly Plutarch. On many points he approaches the Christian view of the ethical relation that ought to exist between man and man. Judged by his writings he was eminently a good man according to the old order of things. Still, Plutarch was far from being a Christian. His virtues are ethnic rather than cosmopolitan. His moral writings display a certain narrowness of view, a lack of enthusiasm, that is in striking contrast with the books of the New Testament and their successors. Nevertheless, his writings were certainly not without their influence for good. Seneca, too, though a Roman, was thoroughly imbued with Greek ideas. It is well known that he has often been regarded as a Christian, though a close inspection of his life will show that this is a mistake. The works of these men and others more or less similar, together with the fact that they were popular, show that the world was to some extent ready to listen to those who endeavored to make men better. While these authors did not profess to teach philosophy, as the term is generally understood, they advocated a philosophy of living in which ethical principles occupied a prominent place.

The motives that led the first heathen to become Christians were without doubt of a somewhat varied character, though they may be classed under a few prominent heads. One of these motives grew out of the relation assumed to exist between gods and men. According to popular belief, the attitude of the former was supposed to be primarily one of hostility toward the latter. The good will of the gods had to be won by some means or other. It is true that many of the ancient philosophers held that these gods were unworthy the name if they looked with greater favor on the gifts of the rich than on those of the poor. But there is abundant evidence to prove that it was a matter of common belief that the good will of a god could in almost every instance be gained or his anger appeased by gifts of sufficient value. In the place of this somber faith Christianity taught the universal fatherhood of God, the only divine Being. It laid great stress upon the fact that his attitude toward man was primarily and constantly one of intense love; and

that not costly gifts, or, indeed, any gifts, were needed to gain his favor. In place of the capricious beings whose ill-will might be aroused by the most trifling act or omission, the heathen were told of a Being with whom there is no variable-ness or shadow of turning, a Being who is just according to men's highest conceptions of justice, and whose character could be sufficiently comprehended by the humblest worshiper. The wide extension of the Greek language had done much to prepare the way for the spread of a cosmopolitan religion such as Christianity claimed to be. Still, this element of its character did not gain ascendancy without a struggle, as is evident from the conflict of views between the Jewish and the Gentile converts. The mighty personality of the greatest of the apostles eventually decided the contest and opened the way for the establishment of congregations throughout the known world. The fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man were the corner stones of the new religion. Yet it must not be supposed that either of these doctrines found ready and full acceptance even among the heathen, grateful as it must have been to the thousands who were without political rights, or at least without such as were of any value. Nor was the spirit of mutual help and brotherly kindness easy to understand in its practical aspects; but that it must have exercised a powerful influence upon many can readily be conceived even if it were not well attested. It no doubt brought some hypocrites into the Church of the sort typified in Ananias and Sapphira, but there is no evidence that they were numerous.

That the possessions of the Church are the property of the poor was the motto of believers from the least to the greatest. Christian writers never tire of contrasting the luxurious living of the heathen priests with the humble condition of their own spiritual leaders. They dwell with equal persistence on the dissolute lives of the former, whose sole object was sensual enjoyment, as contrasted with the charitable labors of the latter. The early bishops urgently insist upon the value of active philanthropy no less than upon the importance of a godly walk and conversation. Says Schultze:

An effectual means of gaining influence over the heathen lay in the activity of the Church in works and institutions of a social character. As early as the apostolic times we find the care of the

poor conducted voluntarily and systematically. Though intended primarily for believers, it extended beyond these in particular cases. In close relation with this activity was the solicitude of the Church for the sick, for the feeble of every age, for orphans, and for all who were in any way in need of help. These works of charity and mercy were carried on to an extent and with a zeal that sufficiently attest the existence of an admirably planned and widespread organization. Later on, when the material condition of the Roman empire kept going from bad to worse, it is easy to imagine how great an attraction upon the humbler classes such charitable organizations would exert as the Church had established, or had in charge. We do not know to what extent such institutions increased the number of believers, but we are safe in drawing the inference that it must have been considerable. On the other hand, we know positively that the Church rescued and brought up in the doctrines of Christianity large numbers of heathen children that had been cast forth to die. The immemorial usage of parents exposing those children who were likely to become a burden upon them was proscribed by the Christian emperors, but had not wholly ceased as late as the sixth century. The Church set itself resolutely against this heartless practice, and not only rescued the victims of parental cruelty from death, but saved many from physical and moral degradation.

What a potent factor in the building up of the Church the spirit of brotherly kindness must have been may be judged from the estimate put upon it by the emperor Julian, who wished to transplant it into his ideal commonwealth. To three things, he thought (Schultze, i, 164), Christianity owed its rapid growth: the active benevolence of its votaries, their care for the dead, and a godly walk and conversation. But he so greatly misunderstood the spirit of believers as to charge the last of these to pure hypocrisy. It is safe to accept his judgment upon the situation, though he misinterpreted the motive. He so far misconceived the spirit of believers as to suppose that such conduct could have sprung from, or be based on, the polytheism which they had discarded. To look for grapes on thornbushes would not have been a greater absurdity. It needs but a cursory examination of the vocabulary of the New Testament, and no profound knowledge of the Greek current in the time of Christ, to convince anyone that the two deal with widely different modes of thought and feeling. The first Christian writers had in a great measure to create the lexical material with which to express their ideas. This they did by assigning to current words a special, usually a wider, significance than they had

at the time. In no particular is the expansive power of Christianity more strikingly exhibited than in the influence it had upon the language in which its teachings were first promulgated. The skill with which the early disciples, in spite of the fact that some of them were men of meager education, adapted the old words to the new conditions, presents one of the most interesting phases in the development of the human mind.*

It is a sad fact that together with the recognition of Christianity as the State religion came its spiritual decline. Yet there is nothing surprising in this, or, rather, it follows from the nature of the case. As soon as it becomes a matter of material advantage to belong to a particular organization in which membership is a mere voluntary act, there will always be many to take advantage of their prerogative to whom the aims and purposes of the association are a matter of indifference. The history of Christianity for fifteen hundred years is a standing witness to the fact that the largest measure of spiritual life is found in those denominations that are without governmental recognition. Wherever there is a State Church it is assumed that all loyal citizens will be found among its members. A disorderly walk may bring rebuke upon the offender, but rarely, or never, expulsion. The English Church, to cite only this single example, was almost totally devoid of spiritual life during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Bishop Tillotson said that in his day a converted clergyman was hard to find. When one scrutinizes the life of the clergy whose duty it was to watch over the spiritual interests of their parishioners, it almost exceeds belief that those in episcopal authority would

*One reason why the apostles and evangelists employed the Greek language was undoubtedly its extensive use. But there was another in its favor, as compared with the Latin, which was also widely prevalent. It may seem strange that Paul wrote in Greek to the disciples at Rome, but this is, in part at least, explained by the presence in the imperial city of many persons from the East who were familiar with the language. The strongest argument in favor of Greek was, however, next to its practical value, the facility with which it lent itself to the discussion of metaphysical and doctrinal questions. There was no theme which could not be readily handled in this tongue. The new religion needed a new nomenclature; and this could be most readily formed from the Greek. There existed in it a body of philosophical writings that made the discrimination of mental phenomena a comparatively easy matter. If new compounds were needed they could be easily and naturally formed. No language in use would have served the purpose so well, or nearly so well, as the Greek.

connive at the reckless courses generally led by these so-called shepherds of the people. The advent of the English reformers in the early years of the eighteenth century, among whom John Wesley was easily the chief, produced a state of things and aroused a popular interest that had many points in common with the first Christian centuries. The parallel need not be carried out in detail here; every one can do that for himself. The power of the government, both active and passive, was against the new sect; yet it grew and prospered because spiritual forces contended in its behalf. Victor Hugo wisely says that a prince is nothing in the presence of a principle. "The best of all is, God is with us" was a conviction destined ultimately to overcome all opposition. And it will always be so.

Experience proves that it is better for the Church that its membership should remain in the minority. So long as it continues to be a truly spiritual body its influence will not be measured by its numbers. If, on the other hand, concessions are made to give it numerical strength, as has so often been done, the same results will always follow that have gone hand in hand with the growth of Christianity from the time of Constantine to our day. Humanly speaking, no doctrine was ever proclaimed that had so little probability of success in its favor as Christianity when it was first promulgated by the apostles. Many times has it been asserted that Greek philosophy was a propaedeutic for Christianity. It is very doubtful whether this view is correct. Greek philosophy concerned itself, as all philosophy does, with the search after truth. Its votaries sought to know the reason of things. It had no deep interest in fallen and miserable men. It might, indeed, indicate the ways and means by which men might become better; but it concerned itself little with the practical needs of their case. Philosophy often inculcates resignation; it may even in special instances lead the way to personal improvement; but it rarely goes beyond this narrow sphere. Philosophy sometimes teaches morality; but men need a morality touched with emotion to move them. In its controversial aspects Greek philosophy was, doubtless, not without its influence on the doctrinal form of Christianity; but this had little to do with commending it to the masses. Then, too, most of the adherents of the later Greek philosophy, those who called themselves philosophers,

were men whose lives were little calculated to win respect for the doctrines they professed. It is well known that the Romans, long before the time of the empire, looked upon them and their professions with contempt. Their conduct was in general deserving of no milder judgment. Ready to undertake anything that promised a temporary livelihood, they were only consistent in their utter disregard of any fixed principles. There were, it is true, some notable and noble exceptions to this sweeping condemnation, but they do not seem to have been either numerous or influential. Nearly all the philosophical schools began by despising Christianity when they came in contact with it, and ended with bitterly denouncing it.

Kant has said that men need a God who interests himself in them, a God who is not a mere abstraction or a being who dwells afar off. Such a God was brought to the attention of men by Christianity after they had gone far toward losing all faith in their traditional divinities. Science, mere abstract knowledge, is cold and unsympathetic. It lacks the warm pulse of emotion. It is one thing to know, and another thing to do. When we are sick we seek the services of the wisest physician. But if he merely tells us how we became sick, lectures us on the laws of our physical nature that we have violated, and takes no further interest in us, his wisdom will profit us little then and there. We shall fare better in the hands of one who, with less knowledge, interests himself in our condition and is willing to do what he can to cure us. A faithful and devoted nurse is of far greater value to a sick man than the most skillful physician who is indifferent or who has only a theoretical interest in us. Greek philosophy was, figuratively speaking, the skillful physician. It could diagnose the pathological condition of the human soul; point out clearly the cause of its diseases; but it did and could do little more. On the other hand, Christianity was the faithful nurse, interested in the patient though not in the cause of his disease. This being the case, need we wonder to which of them men and women would most readily turn for relief? Still, there were many who clung to the old religion because it embodied the faith of their ancestors. They practiced its rites mechanically and gave the subject no further thought. Others vaguely imagined that the existing order of things somehow depended on the observance of certain time-

honored ceremonies. Though some of these rites and ceremonies were gross and sensual in the highest degree, they were not objectionable to them on that account. To not a few persons these ceremonies may even have been a recommendation. Such a religion made no demands on the moral nature and left the worshiper to his own devices. It is sufficiently evident, from the writings of the apostle Paul, that even professing Christians were sometimes loath to give up wholly their idolatrous practices. To these they clung with a tenacity that may seem surprising. But it is not so when we look into the traditions and surroundings of the early converts.

It has often been said that the growth of Christianity, in its inception, was greatly accelerated by the decay of faith in the old gods. How far this was the case cannot be ascertained with any degree of accuracy. One thing, however, is certain—there is abundant evidence of the fact that the ancient rites at least were not interrupted. What Paul mildly commended in his address on Mars' Hill was deduced from wide observation. The Greeks were always careful in the external observances of religion. The apostles' experience at Ephesus showed the same state of things. Forms and ceremonies were still sedulously observed. The belief was widespread that in some way the regular course of nature was dependent upon them. The Christian apologists did not neglect to use the intellectual weapons that famine and pestilence put into their hands. They were fond of dwelling upon the emptiness of a faith in gods who deserted their votaries at the very time when most in need of their aid. When, then, it came to be more and more evident that the course of nature would not be interrupted with the cessation of the old rites, we may well believe that they fell into desuetude with increasing rapidity.

Christ was the first great teacher who insisted on the intimate connection between religion and morality. He would tolerate no divorce between them on the part of his disciples. No human beings have ever lived in a social state who were without a religion; there have been many, as there still are, who have only the faintest conception of practical morality. Not even the Greeks had to any considerable extent reconciled the relation existing between them. While many of the popular Greek maxims are not without moral import, they do not

bring the whole range of conduct within their sphere. The most advanced ethical doctrines of the Greeks exhibit conspicuous gaps that were filled up by Christianity. This aspect of the new doctrine certainly did not tend to make it rapidly popular, we may be sure, but it helped to make its growth steady and continuous. This connection between religion and morality is clearly foreshadowed in the Old Testament, and its rules of conduct are, perhaps, as rigorous as those of the New. Nevertheless many of its representative characters were guilty of base acts. There is an evident concession to the hardness of men's hearts, not made in Christian times. But every reader of the apostolic writings knows how constantly they insist upon the interrelation between creed and conduct.

There is a universal trait of human nature that pleads strongly for the maintenance of the ancestral modes of worship. Most men are averse to change. They shrink from the effort necessary to fit themselves into new conditions. This trait finds utterance in the familiar maxim, "Let well enough alone." The Roman empire had grown great under the tutelage of the ancestral gods. In the course of time it had come to recognize nearly or quite all the gods worshiped throughout its vast extent. Was it safe to discard them? Prudence said not. Though the condition of things might be in some degree unsatisfactory, would it be an improvement to venture upon radical innovations, most of all when these concerned so important a matter as the national religion? Prudence again uttered an emphatic "No." It is therefore not surprising that some of the best Roman emperors persecuted the Christians. The Roman religion was an integral part of the Roman State. The Eternal City was believed to have been founded under divine auspices. The empire was but an extension of the city, though it might embrace the known world. The obligation to see to it that the traditional religious rites were properly observed rested upon the magistrates as much as the discharge of their civil functions. The relation of the heads of families to the other members was similar, almost identical. The good father, the patriotic citizen, the conscientious public functionary, were all regarded as bound to pay careful heed to the will of the gods and to take proper measures for the due observance of long-established and regularly recurring religious rites. It is particularly true of the

later Roman commonwealth, beginning with the time when the republic began to verge toward the empire, that the mental attitude of the worshiper was regarded as a matter of entire indifference. We may well believe that in early Rome there were many whose worship of the gods was sincere. They were what we may call, by anticipation, genuinely pious. In the course of time, however, religion came to be regarded as a purely external matter. The gods were assumed to care nothing as to what the worshiper thought, provided he performed proper acts. Their favor was to be gained or their wrath appeased by the practice of mere perfunctory rites. While it may appear grotesque to us to see the commander of an army consulting and repeating auguries until the omens were favorable, this was frequently done; the Roman soldier failed to fight with his accustomed bravery only when this was omitted or when under the shadow of an unfavorable response. Such a repeated consultation of auguries would never fail to win over the gods to the side of the Romans; and this belief had undoubtedly much influence on the destiny of the Roman empire. It is always possible to cause a die to fall in any desired position if it be thrown often enough. This may occur at the first cast or it may require a dozen or even a hundred; but the desired result cannot fail. It was by similar methods that the Roman soothsayers invariably succeeded in procuring favorable omens. In view, then, of the entire lack of connection in the Roman mind between the subjective and the objective, between the faith of the worshiper and his act of worship, a patriotic citizen might be an infidel in religious belief and yet perform the traditional and customary rites with a certain measure of good faith. Refusal would readily be interpreted as a species of perversity bordering close upon treason, if it were not treason itself. There was no prohibition insisted on more rigorously by the early teachers of Christianity than abstention from every form of idolatry. The neophyte was required to make this renunciation first and foremost. Christianity was not a whit more tolerant of idolatry than was Judaism. The apostles foresaw with surprising clearness that a monotheistic creed was an indispensable condition to an upright life. Men must not be permitted to revere divinities who are capable both of committing and sanctioning immoral acts. It was an impos-

sible thing, an irreconcilable contradiction, that the same superhuman being could approve deeds that had diametrically opposite ethical qualities. The same fountain could not send forth bitter waters and sweet. The same God could not incite men to noble and ignoble acts. Wickedness was not due to an impulse communicated from without; it was the consequence of an evil heart within. It was men's own lusts that enticed them from the path of rectitude, not the inspiration of Deity. There is one God in whom all men live and have their being, and he is only good. He has implanted in all men the power to discern the moral quality of actions; and even the heathen are without excuse if they persist in doing what is wrong. It was in the relation which idolatry held to the State that it first came into conflict with Christianity. Here was a vital point on which the early Christians were open to the attack of anyone who chose to make it. The Jews regarded idolatry with feelings akin to those of the Christians. They were, however, not a proselyting nation. They looked upon their relation to monotheism as a peculiar national birthright, not to be offered to any chance comer. Many of them were scattered throughout the cities of the Roman empire, and until the deification of the emperors became a maxim of statecraft and their worship part of the national religion, they were generally unmolested though despised. The times and circumstances that brought persecution upon the Christians brought it upon them also; but its greatest severity fell on the former. They were regarded as the more dangerous of the two because of their proselyting zeal. It was impossible to foretell the ultimate effects of this zeal, and the government at different times felt constrained to resort to repressive measures.

The stress laid by Jesus and the apostles on the doctrine of personal immortality is another salient point of contrast between Christians and unconverted Greeks. This doctrine found practical expression in the care constantly shown for the dead by the former. If there is to be a bodily resurrection the corpse of a believer must not be treated with neglect; it is worthy of the tenderest solicitude. In what way this solicitude was exercised is sufficiently attested by the contents of the catacombs, though this evidence at present exists chiefly in Europe. That it was general is well known. The Greeks had for the most

part a vague belief in immortality, but it afforded little consolation to those who were burdened with the cares of this world. It promised no compensations in a future existence for the privations endured in this. And it is worthy of remark that the Greeks of to-day have, in the main, advanced but little beyond the belief of their heathen ancestors. They still have a vague terror of the state beyond the grave. They have always been, as they still are, strongly disposed to make the most of the present life, because of the uncertainty of the future. They are no longer supported by the vigorous faith of the early converts among their countrymen. Christianity has become a matter of tradition, and has ceased to be a matter of personal conviction. "Let us eat and drink; for to-morrow we die," has always been a popular maxim among them. It need hardly be said that this was a jejune creed for men whose earthly existence had but little to offer of that which they most desired.

We have thus rapidly sketched the salient points in the development of primitive Christianity. The general course of events is not hard to trace, and to the believer they offer nothing that is hard to comprehend. It is the growth of a divine religion constantly supported by the presence of the Holy Spirit. But to the materialist the case presents not a few serious difficulties. History furnishes no parallel to it. If any one had predicted in the year of our Lord 50 the triumphant course of a religion that had its origin among an insignificant and despised people he would have been decried as a madman or an enthusiastic dreamer. To suppose that the mightiest empire of the world could be conquered by spiritual weapons alone in the course of two centuries demanded a faith bordering on the sublime. Yet it was in this faith that the Church labored. What must have seemed to many an insane prediction was fulfilled. The worship of false gods was overthrown or continued a precarious existence in secret. The sad sequel to the touching story of the early years of Christianity is that, when it had gained the mastery over all opposition, it ceased to rely on spiritual weapons and resorted to force to secure the triumphs it had so gloriously won.

Chas. W. Super.

ART. V.—SOME CONDITIONS OF STYLE.

THE great writers on style in writing have left little to be said concerning principles; but there is one part of the subject where some important details are wanting. Let us preface by saying that there are two purposes to be served by good writing—utility and art. By the first is meant the imparting of ideas in the clearest and most effective way. It includes all but one of the effects of good writing, as, for example, conviction and persuasion. The one effect not necessarily included in a useful style is artistic effect. Most persons are content to forego the art, as most persons are indifferent to the other fine arts, are content that a building shall be useful, and see no charms in pictures or statues; and yet art has its divine place in human life and will always be cultivated for itself. The art of writing artistically so as to satisfy the æsthetic sense, as a painter satisfies it—the building of style up into architectural grace—has been chiefly cultivated by poets; but in this prose century of ours the fine art of expression in words finds cultivators among the prose writers and has given us prose marked by the essential features of the best poetry.

This kind of literary art in prose works upon materials such as the poets use, and its more various measures lend to its music a dignity and breadth not often found in any but the highest poets. The artistic prose must be seen in examples if the point here made is to be appreciated. Take, therefore, a few lines from Walter Pater, the greatest of our living prose artists:

Given the conditions I have tried to explain as constituting good art;—then if it be devoted further to the increase of men's happiness, to the redemption of the oppressed, or the enlargement of our sympathies with each other, or to such presentment of new or old truth about ourselves and our relation to the world as may ennoble and fortify us in our sojourn here, or immediately, as with Dante, to the glory of God, it will be also great art—if, over and above those qualities I summed up as mind and soul—that color and mystic perfume and that reasonable structure—it has something of the soul of humanity in it, and finds its logical, its architectural place, in the great structure of human life.

This sentence of one hundred and twenty-eight words, not one of which is a relative pronoun, is a piece of architecture as truly

as any sonnet is. It is not easy reading; the sentence is too closely packed with presentive words to be easily read; but lucidity and music flow through it. The sentence is the last one in Mr. Pater's article on "Style," printed in the *Fortnightly Review* for December, 1888. We reproduce it, not as an extraordinarily fine sentence, but rather as an example of prose handicraft and as an illustration of the special purpose of this essay.

We are now prepared to suggest some details of literary art. Just as the materials on a painter's palette must be thoroughly mixed, so the mechanical elements of the writer's art must be completely resolved and fused. The words in the sentence are no more like the sentence than crude paints are like a picture. Sentences are also pictures, and their value is given them by the double process of reducing the words to a species of fluidity in the mind and then molding them around the soul we have put into them. To drop figures: No man can be an artist in his style who cannot make a perfect analysis of his words. Of course, he must also have something to put into his sentences. Words may jingle and clang, but they will not play any noble tune. This analysis, this resolution of verbal materials into elementary condition, how is it accomplished? Or, rather, how shall one go about training himself in this handicraft part of his business? A light on the subject comes from the history of the best literary artists. They are invariably men trained by their education and by the habits of their lives to close and constant analysis of the elements of speech. They know the history of their words, the value of their particles, the metaphor fading off from them or developing in them, the trope to be forgotten all about, and the trope distinctly to be remembered; and no particle, in composition or working in single harness, is permitted to escape the molding hand of the master of the sentence. The answer to our question then is: the finished master in style is a product of much study and analysis of words. He must know to the bottom the material in which he works, as a potter works his clay or a painter his colors.

From fifty to sixty per cent of the words in a sentence are symbolic; that is to say, they present no distinct thing to the mind. With forty significant words the artist must combine sixty wanting distinct faces. The sixty are like the plus

and minus signs. Like them, they must be put in the right places, and, like them, must not be used at all in the wrong place or any place where they add nothing or subtract nothing. Much work, otherwise good, is spoiled by the useless *but*, *which*, *and*, *that*, *the*, *an*. The function of each of these particles being supplementary, like the tail of an animal, the artist will see to it that the appendage is both needful and proportional; he will get some usefulness out of his symbol. Nor is it a small matter that some particles are very much alive, as the demonstrative in "*that* man," and yet in other connections may have no life at all, as in "He said *that* he would come." Nine times in ten the artist leaves out the second *that*, not to imitate colloquial style, but to cut away dead flesh. Your *thé* is a more various particle; it ranges through so much unobtrusive significance that only an artist's fine sense will manage it, as in

And to watch, as *the* little bird watches
When *the* falcon is in *the* air.

Each of these particles has a special value; and each is something more than a symbol. The relatives are the least manageable of the symbols still in use. Our fathers had some connectives of a worse temper, as *whensoever* and *whosoever*. Close study of the best writing will show that the artist omits the relatives when he can, and relies upon flat connections, aided by careful adjustment of clauses; and sentences of considerable length are reared up into cathedral grace without the help of the scaffolding of relatives and other connectives. No small part of the difficulty made for us by our Saxon relatives comes of their ungainliness. The French relative is more comely, or, rather, there is less of it, and it admits of vocal and even visible shortening; while our *who*, *which*, *whose*, and *whom* are symbols occupying considerable space and tolerating very little abbreviation in utterance. They resist the common law of symbolic words, and stand almost alone in their revolt from the rule that such words lose in composition a considerable part of their volume of sound. They stretch their whole bulk across the vision, and the mind cannot find relief in a musical reduction of the space they fill. Most significant words are capable of music; *Wabash* is an example, when it is spoken in

Chicago, where much use has crushed it into fluency. Yet after centuries of use our relative forms retain their unmusical notes and refuse to part with the least portion of their volume. The word *that*, now very rarely used as a relative, is susceptible of lengthenings and shortenings for its several functions and for fine musical effects, in cadences especially; and the rare instances of its relative use by Walter Pater are a homage to its fluent nature.

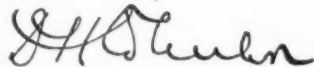
These facts in the nature of our relatives as sound and as visible speech probably explain why, in the history of fine writing, the use of the relatives has pretty steadily declined. Johnson's *Rasselas* contains twice as many in each one thousand words as are found in an essay of Walter Pater; and of the two the *Rasselas* is the more obviously an attempt at artistic composition. Lord Macaulay, about midway in time, is also nearly midway in the proportion of his relatives. The three authors give us the last and best century of our prose literature; Pater's practice shows the last furlong gained in our progress.

For reasons suggested we should have been happier in our English style if we could have gone on using *that* with the freedom of the sixteenth century. Our English Bible shows us how wide this freedom had become when English had just attained to elegance in prose letters. On the other hand, the sixth and seventh verses of the last chapter of Solomon's Song are constructed in much the same order of architecture as the sentences of Walter Pater. We had to part with *that* as a relative because the poor little word, with its three classes of duties, was sadly overworked. Not even the variety of its sound-volume and its musical elegance could entitle it to so many appearances on each page as were assigned to it by De Foe, Johnson, and Burke. When meaner artists seized the pen the poor word was so frequently employed as to positively weary the reader. The economy introduced by the best writers has, in fact, relieved *that* of much service in its offices of conjunctive and demonstrative—to such an extent that there is a tendency to increase its now very limited use as a relative.

We come back to the conditions of style imposed by symbolic words. In a good style these symbols fill a considerable part of every line. Some of them, as we have seen, stubbornly

resist reduction of their volume. It is plain that this group should be used as rarely as possible. It is plain, also, that the more or less significant symbols require great attention to secure to them accuracy of use and position, to be attained to only by a large amount of practice. Good art makes the dumb sing. The feebly vocal symbols add their small notes to the larger voices of the presentive words; the stubbornly dumb words, if they must appear in the line, should somehow be concealed from full sight and enunciation. Bad styles commonly display badly chosen presentive words and incoherence in their sequences; but a style may still be bad after all these errors are corrected. The secret of good style, of the best style, of literary art, lies in the management of the symbolic elements found in written language.

Emotion, or what Walter Pater calls soul, in writing usually banishes the ill-favored and ill-sounding connectives from the sentence. Any one may test this by picking out the elevated passages of a great writer; and the best writing must be characterized by emotional elevation.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, likely reading "J. H. Stuehn". The letters are fluid and connected, with a prominent initial "J" and a long, sweeping underline.

ART. VI.—THE COMING HERO.

GREAT reformatations have small beginnings. The leaven of truth has a marvelous vitalizing effect. The truth in a single heart, setting an intellect on fire with the zeal of a righteous cause, transforms civilization. Truth, embodied in a great man as its exponent, is always the dawn of a better day. Such men are epochal characters in history. They are the prominent mountain peaks of humanity. As the servants of great principles they are resplendent with a divine light that penetrates centuries of gloom. We call such men reformers. With prophetic vision they anticipate the demands of the future; with a sublime courage they believe in the progress of the race and the inherent possibilities of man more than in the conservatism of the past. Such men, possessed with great principles to which humanity responds, startle the nations with their statements of truth and become great teachers and benefactors. We bow before such men of inherent dignity and moral worth and adore them as the world's heroes. Looking back over the past, we behold the political hero arising out of the condition of the age and giving men better government. Each nation has its Washington, whom it venerates and immortalizes. We adore the hero in scientific and philosophical achievement who has broadened our intellectual horizons, and the religious hero who, breaking the bondage of caste and superstition, brings man to a greater spiritual freedom. These have all been forerunners of a hero yet to come. I believe this last hero of the human race will come in the twentieth century and fully establish the brotherhood of man under the law of love. His greatness will consist in the fact that he is a great servant.

Gathered in an upper room in Jerusalem on the eve of the most stupendous and far-reaching events of the world's history are twelve men of divers temperament and training, engaged in conversation with Him who has since been recognized as the Teacher of the ages. They have been planning the establishment of a great kingdom upon far-reaching reformatory principles. They have learned many sublime truths from their marvelous Teacher, have beheld visions of peaceful conquest by the power of new ethical truths, and are expecting some great

event as they face a mysterious future. In the shadow of uncertainty caused by the predicted and approaching departure of the great Teacher they are about to recline around the table at the paschal supper to celebrate a feast which to them was both historical and prophetic. In the social conversation preceding this feast they grew enthusiastic, even wrangling over the question who should be greatest in the expected kingdom. In the midst of the momentary excitement the Master, whose very wisdom and inherent dignity has made him great in their estimation, lays aside his outer garment, girds himself with a towel, and proceeds to perform a menial service, a service usually performed by a hireling or slave. He washes the feet of the disciples, according to a custom performed before the evening meal. The impetuous spokesman of that select body of men—spokesman only by age and temperament—objects to this seeming sacrifice of dignity and revolts against this revolutionary act of the great Teacher. One glance from that benevolent face with the simple statements, "What I do thou knowest not now; but thou shalt know hereafter," and "If I wash thee not, thou hast no part with me," silences the objector, and the beautiful lesson is continued by a remarkable explanation of a great truth which the world has been slow to reconcile.

This bold object lesson was the act of a reformer, and as such was revolutionary and subverted preexisting customs and notions. I am not surprised at Peter's protest. To him it seemed to be a servile act. It has taken the light and experience of nearly nineteen centuries to invest this act with its regal meaning. It is beginning to dawn on some minds that they can never rise so high as when they become great servants. In fact, the most honored men to-day have been such. Lincoln, Grant, Gladstone are striking examples among English-speaking people. What a contrast between these men and Alexander, Cæsar, and Napoleon! The world has had many ambitious, selfish heroes, whose genius flashed as a meteor across the world's horizon, leaving devastation, ruin, and bloodshed in their trail; while history recalls the deeds of but few benevolent, self-sacrificing heroes who have sought to exalt humanity by the investment of their lives in the defense of great principles. Yet the few have outlived in influence the many whose greatness was but gilded cruelty and selfishness; and

the few are crowned to-day in the world's thought as great benefactors.

The Philosopher and Philanthropist of Nazareth, in whom dwelt the fullness of the Godhead, was a great reformer whose statements of truth penetrated to the core of wrongs and customs which were hoary with age. The teachings and example of Jesus are making all things new, though the moral elevation has been slow; but in no age has his example been more potent nor his teachings more closely investigated with reference to present problems than at the close of this century. Dr. Peabody, Harvard's great preacher, in alluding to this beautiful example of Jesus in one of his sermons to the students, used the following language:

This act of Jesus established a new order of nobility—that of great servants. Before, greatness had for its aim and token the acquisition or appropriation of wealth, title, power, service, or whatever else might be the foremost object of desire; and the greatest man was he who could most efficiently make others tributary to himself. Since, true greatness has had for its aim and token self-privation, self-renunciation, the bestowment of all that one has and is, for the good of his fellow-men; and he is the greatest who has the largest and most affluent nature to spend and sacrifice for his race and the most fervent desire to coin his whole being into uses and services.

I accept this as a terse statement of the important lesson which the great Teacher sought to impart, and would emphasize it now. Yet human blindness and unlawful ambition have revolted against this new order of knighthood and sought greatness in the lower lines of selfishness. The failure has been great—great upon the dwarfed and unsatisfied individual, and great in afflictions and hardships upon the masses.

It is said that "coming events cast their shadows before." These shadows are the conditions of humanity which claim attention and demand adjustment. Some one always arises to solve those vexed problems, and the conditions of to-day are prophetic of the coming hero. What are these conditions that demand great servants and are preparing the way for their coming? The unrest and conflicts manifested in commercial and industrial relations, in the discussion of political and economic questions, and also in the realm of theology and sociology indicate that we are in a transition period. Problems on every

hand are presenting themselves for solution. Past legislation seems to be ineffectual, and fails to meet the new conditions. The golden cord of our national and individual prosperity seems to be broken. Things seem to have a chaotic tendency. Our ablest financiers are perplexed, and thinking men of every class are looking for a solution of the many-sided problems now arising in our civilization. Some of the conditions which indicate the coming hero may be frankly stated.

The first condition is a want of confidence on the part of the masses in the leadership of those who aspire to political positions of trust and power. Once political exaltation meant that the man was a patriot, and his greatest success was attained in protecting the people's interests. But the strife for leadership in recent years, with its attendant corruptions, together with the betrayal of great public interests by men who have used their preferment and power for selfish purposes, has broken the confidence of the masses. They are "at sea" between the great political parties. They know the methods of the caucus and the convention and distrust the leaders, so that politics has become largely the strife of demagogues and their "heelers" for public patronage. Men are in politics for the money there is in it, and the big plums go to the men who have the largest bank accounts. The people are growing tired of this state of affairs, and are looking for great servants whose patriotism is unquestioned and whose lives will be invested in the service of pure government, based upon equity and justice to all classes. The handwriting is on the wall; the selfish politician is doomed, and the unrest of the masses means the coming hero—the great servant of the people's interests. The political methods of the last twenty-five years are failing. In the coming century the way to a throne will be along the line of patriotic and benevolent public service.

Again, the tyranny of wealth is disintegrating our social compact and breeding the elements of the commune. Nearly every town has its Shylock, who lives by his unjust extortions and upon unlawful interest, and who chafes because all men will not come under his thumb of oppression. The masses feel, perhaps unjustly, in some cases, that great wealth has been wrongfully gained and that in the prosperity of the last thirty years there has not been a fair distribution of the products of

capital and labor. During these years there has been but little legislation which has given full protection to the meager investments of the poor man in great corporations. He has not been permitted to have a place on the bottom floor of great industrial institutions. With no national comptroller to look into the affairs of industrial corporations and protect the small investors, such as is provided for by our laws in our national banking institutions, the poor man has been "frozen out," crowded to the wall, and is now dependent on these corporations and manufacturing institutions for a place to work, and upon wages alone. The age of steam and machinery has greatly hastened our civilization, but not without some disadvantages—disadvantages which ought not to exist and which are preparing the way for the coming hero. The industry of the world has been carried on under three systems: first, that of slavery; second, the feudal system, and, third, the wage system of the present age. It has been an upward progress, and the last stage is the best, recognizing, as it does, skill and intelligence. Yet the wage system as administered to-day is unsatisfactory. The masses resist the tendency toward dependence upon, or slavery to, great corporations. Labor organizations are but the exponents of this unrest. Here is a great problem for solution. The very conditions of this problem are prophetic of the coming hero, who, as a great servant, and upon the ethical principles of the golden rule, will find the solution, and when this is found and recognized we shall be in the dawn of the golden age of the highest individual freedom.

Again, in our larger cities and in many of our smaller ones the social cliques, based solely on wealth and diamonds—no other passport being required—are demoralizing public sentiment on many lines, debauching the public conscience in the awful haste to get rich, and alienating and destroying the brotherhood of man. There are places in this land where nothing less than one million dollars will admit a man to the social set. Brains, literary attainment, inventive genius, or great public services, none of these things equals wealth in the social estimation of our wealthy aristocracy, who ape an effete and degenerating royalty on other shores. The effect of this is injurious to our social compact, tends toward caste, builds up a hatred among the classes, and breaks that mutual depend-

ence that naturally exists between the capitalist and his skilled laborer. The social attitude of wealth has had much to do with the labor troubles of the last decade. Wealth means great responsibility, and should involve efficient stewardship in the discharge of public benefactions; but the general tendency, with but a few exceptions, is in the opposite direction, toward the tyranny of selfishness and toward a pharisaical exclusiveness and isolation.

The conditions of party politics, the exactions of industrial corporations, and the social tendencies of wealth present a boundless problem—almost as boundless as this country as described by the impetuous Fourth of July orator who said that “America is bounded on the north by the aurora borealis; on the east by the history of the past; on the south by the torrid zone, and on the west by the day of judgment!” Who shall appear to solve this problem, assume leadership conferred by the masses, still the noisy elements, and usher in a reign of peace built upon the right relations of all men? Not the theorist, who deals with abstract principles and knows but little of the practical side of life. Not the political economist, who deals simply with the acquisition and distribution of wealth, and who explains all the ills of humanity by protection or free trade, or monometallism, or bimetallism, or the Ricardo rent theory. Political economy as taught to-day from the books is on the rim of this great problem, and must go deeper and carry with it ethical principles to find the secret of a correct and peaceful solution.

The solution of the problem is not with the anarchist, who would level all things with torch and dynamite; nor with the socialist, who seeks by the ballot to make a community of goods; nor with the walking delegate of labor organizations, whose chief business is agitation. All these elements of discussion and interest are the indications and conditions of the coming hero who will give the world the solution and lead in the readjustment of a social compact based upon the brotherhood of man. His coming will be peaceable, it is to be hoped, because of the adherence of a free and sovereign people to his teachings; yet he may come while we are on the verge of chaos and in the midst of flaming torches and booming cannons, and out of the destruction and bloodshed make all things

new by ethical principles which shall shape and direct the application of economic principles.

It is now time to inquire after the characteristics of this coming hero, that we may recognize him when he does appear and hail him as the great servant of the twentieth century. I am sure he will be a noble man physically, intellectually, and morally. He will know himself, and all the active principles of his nature will be under perfect self-control, all working harmoniously together to exalt the supreme end of man. The body will be the servant of the mind, the mind the servant of the moral and spiritual natures, and the whole man radiant with nobility of character because he recognizes and obeys the laws of nature, heeds the voice of an enlightened conscience, and exemplifies the ethics of love in his conduct. His nobleness of character will not be spasmodic and made to order, but will be the outgrowth of his faith—faith in well-accepted philosophic principles, faith in the possibilities of human nature, faith in the ultimate triumph of right and truth, and faith in the ethics of the golden rule and the brotherhood of man. He will live not for self, but for others, and for the good he can do as a great servant. Stability of character will be a dominant trait of the coming hero, because he will be a man of convictions, and also have the courage of his convictions—not one thing to-day and something else to-morrow, in order to catch the popular favor. He will be a stable man. No one will doubt his consistency or question his manly convictions. His stability, like the rest of his character, will be the outgrowth of his belief in life's invisible forces. He will know that the visible things of this life are temporal and that the unseen forces are eternal. He will, therefore, anchor himself to the spirit forces of the universe, and, taking advantage of these forces as seen in gravity, in the passing breeze, in the sunbeam, in the electric current, in man's soul and in God's eternal presence and power, he will serve humanity as its last and greatest hero. The multitude will follow him because of his sincerity and disinterested benevolence. He will mold public opinion, and, by the voice of the people, he will be society's blessed lawgiver and benefactor.

He will be an American patriot. The love of good and equitable laws, the welfare of men in harmonious social relations and public morals, will be dear to his heart. His patriot-

ism will be on the investment principle. He will save others by the sacrifice of himself and his own interest. In short, he will be the world's greatest public servant. He may be a rich man. If so he will not hesitate to wash the poor man's feet. He may be a poor man; but as a leader of the masses he will make many rich by a new order of things in the industrial world and by inculcating a better state of social and public morals. He will be a Christian statesman. The ethics of the New Testament will be his guide in solving the difficulties of the new economic questions and in directing the affairs of the State, national as well as international. The ethics of Him who has been the world's greatest servant will furnish this coming statesman with correct sociological views, expressed in wise legislative enactments, which shall give new peace and harmonious relations to society. As a statesman, the product of new conditions in civilization, he will rise above the party blindness and selfish ambitions which characterize the vast majority of public men to-day. Imbued with the spirit and life of Jesus Christ, he will ascend to a broad view of American conditions and become the statesman of the twentieth century. This hero will not announce himself. He will doubtless be unconscious of his mission until near the close of his life. Perhaps the laurel wreath will never be placed upon his brow but rather placed on his statue by grateful generations. He will be crowded into leadership by the masses, and so absorbed will he be in the solution of the problems of the hour and in serving the people's interests on the platform of American patriotism that he will be unconscious of the greatness and permanency of his lifework. Therefore we need to beware of the man who announces himself as the hero of the age and calls upon a restless humanity to do him homage before he has solved the difficulties of our present civilization.

But the reader objects, and says that I have portrayed an imaginary character—a hero who cannot arise out of selfish humanity as now constituted. Such a view, I apprehend, is pessimistic, and leaves God and his purposes out of the question. The forces are now at work to produce this hero. The storm clouds on our national horizon, illustrated in Governor Altgeld's pardon of the anarchists at Chicago as a bid for the votes of foreigners of the socialistic class; the manipulations of a foreign

political Church, who will doubtless soon ask that the pope's nuncio be recognized at Washington; the flagrant disregard of the wishes of the American people touching the sacredness of the Sabbath day by a covetous city and a still more selfish local management of the World's Fair—these are the forces demanding a hero and an American statesman. These danger signals, together with many other economic and social forces, are now at work to produce a hero, and the world is waiting for his coming and the very age is expectant.

Who shall develop this hero? From whence shall he come? Out of adversity, doubtless; a poor boy, perhaps, trained as was the "rail-splitter" by bitter experiences that he might be a nation's saviour in its darkest hour. No matter whence he comes, one thing is sure: in order to meet the conditions of the next century he must come through the college and our institutions of higher learning into those broad scientific and philosophical views which shall enable him accurately to grasp the conditions of the age. He must also come through the universal Christian Church, whose central theology is the life and spirit of Jesus Christ, into those broad ethical views which shall fully enable him to grasp the great facts of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. This very culture of head and heart will enable him to solve the difficulties which are now arising under the new conditions of our civilization.

A stylized, handwritten signature in dark ink. The signature appears to read "A. A. Johnson". The first "A" is large and loops around the rest of the name. The "J" is also large and loops back under the "nson". The overall style is fluid and cursive.

ART. VII.—THE PAULINE EPISTLES CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO EXTERNAL EVIDENCE.—PART II.

A VERY ancient account of the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* has come down to us in the form of a letter of the church of Smyrna. Its date is uncertain; but it was probably written not long after the death of Polycarp, which, it will be remembered, is supposed to have occurred A. D. 155. This letter is thought to have some spurious additions, but to be in the main a genuine document. In § 1 there is a quotation from Phil. ii, 4, and in § 2 Paul's version of Isa. lxiv, 4, is given very nearly as it stands in 1 Cor. ii, 9. In § 10 there seems to be a reference to Rom. xiii, 1, and to Titus iii, 1.

The *Epistle of Barnabas* is among the earliest Christian writings extant. Its date and authorship are uncertain; but it is generally agreed that it must have been written between A. D. 71 and 125. The writer appears to use Paul's epistles, but his references to them are not so pointed as to be very decisive. In § 13 Abraham is spoken of as a "father of the nations who believe, though they be in uncircumcision," recalling Rom. iv, 11. In § 19 there occurs what may be an echo of Gal. vi, 6. In § 6, "The habitation of our heart is a holy temple to the Lord," appears to be a reminiscence of Eph. ii, 21, 22, "A holy temple in the Lord; in whom ye also are builded together for a habitation of God;" and perhaps also of 1 Cor. iii, 16, "Know ye not that ye are a temple of God?" In § 12, "Jesus, for in him and to him are all things," resembles Col. i, 16, "All things have been created through him and unto him." There are seeming echoes of passages in 1 and 2 Thessalonians. The expression, in § 6, "He was about to be manifested . . . in the flesh," may be a reminiscence of 1 Tim. iii, 16, "He who was manifested in the flesh." "The Lord . . . who shall judge the quick and the dead" (§ 7) is the same phrase as is found in 2 Tim. iv, 1. On the whole, the allusions, such as they are, seem to be as much to the disputed as to the undisputed epistles.

In considering the testimony of Ignatius we meet with a very complicated and long-debated question. The letters of Ignatius to the churches and to Polycarp were written as he was on his way from Antioch to Rome, where he was to suffer

martyrdom under Trajan, probably, as already stated, "within a few years of A. D. 110." The letters, however, have come down to us in several different forms, and it has been questioned whether we have the real letters at all. Volumes have been written on the subject. The seven letters of the shorter Greek recension—those of the Middle Form, sometimes styled the Vossian letters—are defended as genuine by many very eminent scholars, such as Zahn, Harnack, Funk, Lipsius, Lightfoot, and others. On the other hand, some scholars still stand with Lardner, who said of this vexed question more than a century ago: "Whatever positiveness some may have shown on either side, I must own I have found it a very difficult question. . . . It appears to me probable that they are for the main the genuine epistles of Ignatius." But he adds, "Even the smaller epistles [that is, those of the Middle Form] may have been tampered with."* So also Charteris: "The point upon which we are not sure is the survival of those letters to our day in such a form that they can be used as evidence."† The value of the testimony of Ignatius may therefore be variously estimated by different persons. Let us now see what the testimony is, using the letters of the Middle Form.

Here, again, there is no express quotation from the books of the New Testament, but evident marks of acquaintance with both the gospels and the epistles. Ignatius, in his letter to the Ephesians (§ 12), says, "Ye are associates in the mysteries with Paul, who was sanctified, . . . who in every letter [or, in all his letter] makes mention of you in Christ Jesus." Some authorities, as Lardner, Ellicott, and others, think that this is a direct reference to Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians. Others, as Zahn and Lightfoot, think it refers rather to Paul's comments on the Ephesians in his letters to the Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, and 1 and 2 Timothy. According to the former view Ignatius bears witness to the Epistle to the Ephesians; according to the latter view, to several of Paul's letters. Among the examples of the use of Paul's writings by Ignatius is the coincidence of the phrase, "newness of life," in *Ig. Eph.*, § 19, with *Rom.* vi, 4. More marked is the resemblance between *Rom.* i, 3, 4, and *Ig. Smyr.*, § 1, "Of the race of David according to the

* Lardner's *Works*, vol. ii, pp. 76, 77. London, 1838.

† A. H. Charteris, *Canonicity*, p. xxviii. 1880.

flesh, but Son of God by the divine will and power." The phrase, "Shall not inherit the kingdom of God," 1 Cor. vi, 9, and Gal. v, 21, is used in Ig. Eph., § 16, and, slightly varied, in Ig. Phil., § 3. Also the words, "Yet am I not hereby justified," 1 Cor. iv, 4, are used in Ig. Rom., § 5. There seems to be evident allusion to 1 Cor. i, 20, in Ig. Eph., § 18; also to 2 Cor. xi, 9, in Ig. Phil., § 6; to Gal. i, 1, in Ig. Phil., § 1; to Eph. v, 25, 29, in Ig. Polyc., § 5; and to Eph. vi, 11-17, in Ig. Polyc., § 6. Compare also Ig. Eph., § 1, "imitators of God," and Eph. v, 1. Ig. Eph., § 9, echoes Eph. ii, 20-22. Ig. Mag., § 7, paraphrases Eph. iv, 3-6. Ig. Phil., § 8, "Do nothing through faction," is a reference to Phil. ii, 3; and in § 1 Ignatius uses the latter part of the same passage from Paul, "Nor yet through vainglory." Ig. Smyr., § 11, "As many as be perfect, be perfectly minded," is an allusion probably to Phil. iii, 15. Ig. Eph., § 10, "Steadfast in the faith," seems to allude to Col. i, 23. 1 Thess. v, 17, and 1 Tim. ii, 1, are reproduced in Ig. Eph., § 10, and Ig. Polyc., § 1. "Ye refreshed me in all things, and Jesus Christ shall refresh you. . . . May my spirit be for you and my bonds, which ye have not despised or been ashamed of; nor shall Jesus Christ . . . be ashamed of you," Ig. Smyr., §§ 9, 10, seems to be a recalling of 2 Tim. i, 16, 18. To all of Paul's epistles, in fact, except to 2 Thessalonians, even to that to Philemon, there are allusions more or less distinct. Those to 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Colossians, and Titus, however, are less marked than the others; those to 1 Corinthians and to Ephesians are the most pointed.

The *Didache* is a work whose date is uncertain. But many scholars assign it to a very early period—the latter part of the first century or the first part of the second century. It contains no precise quotation from Paul's epistles, but it is thought to allude to some of them. Harnack notices, for example, resemblances in Did. iv, §§ 10, 11, to Eph. vi, 5, 9, and Col. iii, 22; also in Did. xvi, § 4, to 2 Thess. ii, 1-12; and other verbal coincidences. Schaff, Lightfoot, and others trace resemblances which indicate probable use of Romans, 1 Corinthians, Ephesians, and 1 and 2 Thessalonians.*

The *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* is an early fictitious

* Philip Schaff, *The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, p. 92 and note, also p. 95. London, 1885.

work, purporting to give, in dying utterances of the sons of Jacob, moral and religious counsels and predictions of future history, especially of the events of Christianity. It was probably written by a Jewish Christian with the purpose of recommending Christianity to the Jews; and it, too, dates from near the close of the first century or the early part of the second century.* The writer, therefore, is as early a witness as the apostolic fathers, but a witness of a different type, in that he gives the testimony of Jewish Christians. As the *Testaments* purport to be words uttered before even our Old Testament was written, one should not look for quotations as such from the biblical books. Yet all the more striking, on this account, are the evident traces in it of the New Testament, which underlies its thought and crops out in its expressions. Professor Warfield has noticed that the writer makes use of thirty-nine words peculiar to Paul alone and found in no other Christian writer of his age; whereas only eleven are noted as peculiar to Paul and Clement of Rome, and only six peculiar to Paul and Polycarp. The greater length of the *Testaments* is not sufficient alone to account for this great difference.† In Levi, § 6, there is a clear borrowing from 1 Thess. ii, 16, in the words, "But the wrath of the Lord came suddenly upon them to the uttermost." Besides this passage many striking minor resemblances have been pointed out by Sinker,‡ Warfield, and others. Among them are the following: Ash., § 4, comp. Rom. ii, 13; Levi, § 3, comp. Rom. xii, 1; Benj., § 4, comp. Rom. xii, 21; Dan, § 5, comp. Rom. xv, 33; Gad, § 5, comp. 2 Cor. vii, 10; Benj., § 3, comp. Eph. ii, 2; Jud., § 14, comp. Eph. v, 18; Dan, § 5, also Reub., § 6, comp. Eph. iv, 25, 26; Naph., § 3, comp. Eph. v, 6; Benj., § 10, also Zeb., § 9, comp. Phil. ii, 6, ff.; Levi, § 14, comp. Phil. ii, 15; Levi, § 3, comp. Col. i, 16; Reub., § 6, comp. 1 Tim. i, 17; Dan, § 6, comp. 1 Tim. ii, 5; and Levi, § 8, comp. 2 Tim. iv, 8. The writer represents the dying Benjamin (§ 11) as thus prophesying of Paul, who was of the tribe

* Opinions concerning its date are the following: Dorner, A. D. 100-135; Wieseler, 100-120; Ewald, 90-100; Lightfoot, certainly after 70, probably before 135, "but may be later" (*Com. on Gal.*, p. 300); Sinker, "from late in the first century to the revolt of Bar-cochba" (A. D. 135); Warfield, 100-120.

† See *Presbyterian Review*, January, 1880, pp. 63, 64.

‡ Robert Sinker: *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. Cambridge, 1869.

of Benjamin (Rom. xi, 1; Phil. iii, 5): "And one shall rise up from my seed in the latter times, beloved of the Lord, hearing upon the earth his voice, enlightening with new knowledge all the Gentiles, . . . and he shall be inscribed in the holy books, both his work and his word, and he shall be a chosen one of God forever." In the *Testaments* traces of acquaintance with all of Paul's epistles are thought to be discerned, except 2 Thessalonians and Philemon. But the use of 1 Corinthians and of Galatians is doubtful, and the allusions to Colossians and to Titus are faint. The most decided references are those to 1 Thessalonians, Ephesians, Romans, and Philippians; less marked are those to 2 Corinthians and 1 and 2 Timothy.

The *Epistle to Diognetus* is a work whose origin is hidden in obscurity. We have it; but we have neither date nor author nor attestation of it. It came down to us in but one manuscript, and that one now no longer exists, having been burned at Strassburg in 1870. Yet whoever reads the letter will agree with Semisch, that it is "a gem of Christian antiquity, which in spirit and style is scarcely equaled by any other writing of the sub-apostolic times."* From the contents of the letter scholars are generally agreed that the last two chapters are not by the author of the rest of the epistle. But in the effort to determine its date they differ so widely that the letter cannot confidently be cited as a witness of the first two centuries. Like the letter of Polycarp, it contains in proportion to its length a great number of passages and phrases apparently borrowed from Paul. The writer makes use of Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, and 1 Timothy.

The *Apology of Aristides* was addressed either to Hadrian or to Antoninus Pius, and its date probably lies between A. D. 125 and 140. Until very recently it was thought to be lost; but in 1889 a Syriac translation of it in a manuscript of the seventh century was discovered by Professor J. Rendel Harris in the convent of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai. A fragment of an Armenian translation of it had in 1876 been published by the monks of the Lazarist monastery at Venice. Just as Professor Harris was about to give to the world the results of his discovery Mr. J. Armitage Robinson, Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, who had read the proof-sheets of Mr. Harris's

* Herzog and Plitt, *Real-Encyclopädie*, Bd. iii, p. 611. Leipzig, 1878.

work, detected that the *Apology* coincided substantially with a speech incorporated into the *Life of Barlaam and Josaphat*, and thus that it was already extant in the Greek language, in which Aristides originally wrote it. The story of Barlaam and Josaphat had, before the thirteenth century, been translated into various languages, and the Greek text of it was published by Boissonade, in Paris, in 1832. Since the recent interesting discoveries of Messrs. Harris and Robinson the *Apology*, both in Syriac and in Greek, has been published by them.* There is some doubt whether the *Apology* was addressed to Hadrian. In the *Apology* there are, according to Mr. Robinson, "no direct quotations from the New Testament, although the apologist's diction is undoubtedly colored at times by the language of the apostolic writers." Instances of this sort from Paul's epistles are: *Apol. i*, comp. *Col. i*, 17; *Apol. iii*, comp. *Rom. i*, 25; *Apol. viii*, comp. *Rom. i*, 22; *Apol. xi*, comp. *Rom. vii*, 8; *Apol. xiii*, comp. *Rom. vii*, 12, 16, and *1 Tim. i*, 8; *Apol. xv*, comp. *1 Thess. v*, 18; and *Apol. xvi*, comp. *1 Thess. ii*, 13. There are two or three other possible echoes of passages in Romans, 1 Thessalonians, and 1 Timothy. Thus Aristides appears to have been acquainted with at least Romans, Colossians, 1 Thessalonians, and 1 Timothy.

Justin Martyr's *Apologies* and his *Dialogue with Trypho* are admitted to be genuine works, dating from about A. D. 140–150. The *Apologies* were addressed to a heathen emperor, and the dialogue is with a Jew; consequently quotations from the New Testament are not to be looked for in great number. Yet there are many passages which show incidental correspondence with Paul's epistles. Zahn and others point out resemblances and coincidences between Justin's writings and the epistles to the Romans, 1 Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Colossians, and 2 Thessalonians. Westcott says: "He appears to show traces of the influence of all St. Paul's epistles, with the exception of the pastoral epistles and those to the Philippians and Philemon."† Zahn, however, excepts likewise 2 Corinthians and 1 Thessalonians.‡

* *Texts and Studies*, vol. i, No. 1. Cambridge, 1891.

† B. F. Westcott: *The Canon of the New Testament*, p. 171. 5th ed., 1881.

‡ Theodor Zahn: *Geschichte des Neutestamentlichen Kanons*, vol. i, p. 565. Leipzig, 1889.

Zahn, Westcott, and others draw attention to the remarkable coincidence between his variations from the Septuagint and those of Paul. Some examples of this are the following: Dial., § 24, comp. Isa. lxv, 1-3, and Rom. x, 20, 21; Dial., § 27, comp. Rom. iii, 10-18 (here Paul has strung together various passages from the Old Testament, and Justin has in the main followed him); Dial., § 39, comp. 1 Kings xix, 14, 18, and Rom. xi, 3, 4 (here Justin's "'Lord, they have slain thy prophets and digged down thine altars; and I am left alone, and they seek my life.' And he answers him, 'I have still seven thousand men who have not bowed the knee to Baal,'" is condensed and transposed from the Septuagint like Paul's); Dial., § 39, comp. Psalm lxviii, 18, and Eph. iv, 8 (in rendering the passage "Gave gifts unto men," Justin follows Paul); and Dial., § 95, comp. Dent. xxvii, 26, and Gal. iii, 10, in connection with Dial., § 96, comp. Dent. xxi, 23, and Gal. iii, 13 (where the two passages are cited and applied as Paul uses them). A few fragments of Justin's lost works have been preserved in the writings of others. One of these has come down to us through Photius, who lived in the ninth century, and is found in his writings in connection with a fragment of a work on the resurrection by Methodius, who lived early in the fourth century. This fragment from Justin is interesting because in it he mentions Paul by name and clearly refers to 1 Cor. xv, 53-56.*

There is an ancient *Homily*, by an unknown author, which used to be ascribed to Clement of Rome and was often called his second epistle, although even Eusebius seems to have questioned whether Clement wrote it. But since the discoveries, in 1875, of the Greek manuscript and, in 1876, of the Syriac manuscript of this entire work there is no longer any doubt that it is a homily, and not by Clement, though by whom remains unknown. As to its date Funk conjectures that it was written rather before than after the middle of the second century; † Zahn, before A. D. 130; ‡ Gebhardt and Harnack, 130-160; § Uhlhorn, not later than 160; ¶ Lightfoot, about

* Theodor Zahn: *Geschichte des Neutestamentlichen Kanons*, vol. i, p. 575. 1889.

† *Opera Patrum Apostolicorum*, vol. i, pp. xxxviii, xxxix. 1881.

‡ *Geschichte*, etc., vol. i, p. 463.

§ *Patrum Apostolicorum Opera: Clem. Rom. Ep. Prol.*, p. lxxiii.

¶ Herzog and Plitt: *Real-Encyclopädie*, article, *Clemens von Rom*.

120-140.* Both Lightfoot and Charteris speak of its mode of quoting Scripture as an evidence that it is of earlier date than the last quarter of the second century. There are in it two plain instances of borrowing from Paul. In § 14 the author says, "I do not suppose ye are ignorant that the living Church is the body of Christ;" and he goes on to draw out the comparison, speaking of this as what "the books and the apostles plainly declare," referring, doubtless, to Paul's repeated use of this figure, as in Eph. i, 22, 23, "The Church, which is his body," in Eph. iv, 12, "The building up of the body of Christ," in Col. i, 18, "He is the head of the body, the Church," and elsewhere. Again, § 19, "We are darkened in our understanding by our vain lusts," is a quotation from Eph. iv, 17, 18, "As the Gentiles also walk, in the vanity of their mind, being darkened in their understanding." Besides these more pointed references, which, it should be noticed, are especially to "disputed" epistles, there are other reminiscences and reflections of Paul's letters. A few may be noted. Compare § 1 and Rom. iv, 17. § 8 is a borrowing of Paul's figure of the clay in the hands of the potter, Rom. ix, 20, 21. In §§ 11, 14 there are echoes of 1 Cor. ii, 9. § 9, "We ought to guard the flesh as a temple of God," recalls 1 Cor. iii, 16, "Ye are a temple of God," and 1 Cor. vi, 19, "Your body is a temple of the Holy Ghost." § 7 paraphrases 1 Cor. ix, 24, 25. § 13, "Let us not be found men-pleasers," shows a verbal coincidence with Eph. vi, 6, and Col. iii, 22. § 20, "To the only God invisible," is an echo of "The King . . . invisible, the only God," 1 Tim. i, 17. Two similar turns of expression in §§ 15, 19 are perhaps suggested by, "Thou shalt save both thyself and them that hear thee," 1 Tim. iv, 16. § 12, "We know the day of God's appearing," resembles expressions in 1 and 2 Timothy and in Titus. Thus there are in the *Homily* traces of Romans, 1 Corinthians, Ephesians, Colossians, and 1 Timothy. There are, perhaps, echoes of Galatians, 2 Timothy, and Titus.

The *Shepherd of Hermas* is an allegorical and mystical work of uncertain authorship, and dating probably between A. D. 130 and 150. It contains no quotation from either the Old or the New Testament. Charteris and Westcott notice one passage in 1 Corinthians, and two in Ephesians, which are perhaps

* *Apostolic Fathers: Clement of Rome*, vol. ii, p. 202.

alluded to in Hermas. Funk and, also, Gebhardt and Harnack notice other passages which are possibly echoes of Paul; but they are vague.

Tatian wrote his *Address to the Greeks* about A. D. 150 or 160. In it there are reflections of passages in Romans, 1 Corinthians, Ephesians, and 1 Timothy. Instances are the following: Chap. iv, "Him we know from his creation and apprehend his invisible power by his works," comp. Rom. i, 20; chap. xv, "Such is the nature of man's constitution; and if it be a temple God is pleased to dwell in it by the Spirit, his representative," comp. 1 Cor. iii, 16, and vi, 19; chap. xvi, "Being armed with the breastplate of the celestial spirit," comp. Eph. vi, 14, 17, "Breastplate of righteousness . . . sword of the Spirit;" and chap. xx, "The heavens . . . have perpetual day and light unapproachable," comp. 1 Tim. vi, 16, "Dwelling in light unapproachable" (the adjective "unapproachable," a rare word, is the same in both passages). Jerome says that, although Tatian rejected some of Paul's epistles, he yet believed that the one to Titus was by that apostle.*

Melito of Sardis wrote, about A. D. 170, an apology addressed to Marcus Aurelius, of which we have a fragment that shows apparent use of 1 Cor. i, 24, and of 1 Thess. iv, 15.

Of the works of Dionysius of Corinth there are only a few fragments preserved to us in the writings of Eusebius. They were written not far from A. D. 170. In one fragment (Euseb., *Historia Ecclesiæ*, iv) is an adoption of the phrase, "As an affectionate father exhorting his children," from 1 Thess. ii, 11.

A few fragments from Hegesippus have likewise been preserved by Eusebius and by Photius. They date from about A. D. 170. Some, however, assign a later date as the more probable.† These fragments contain (Euseb., *Historia Ecclesiæ*, iii, 32) the phrase, "Science falsely so called" (1 Tim. vi, 20), and one or two other expressions which are thought to be echoes of the pastoral epistles. A fragment preserved by Photius (*Bibl.*, 232) gives the quotation of Isa. lxiv, 4, in a very similar form to that of Paul in 1 Cor. ii, 9.

Athenagoras of Athens is another of the ancient writers

* Pref. in *Comm. ad Titum*.

† George Salmon: *Introduction to the New Testament*, p. 402. 3d ed., 1888. Salmon thinks that Hegesippus wrote "between 175 and 189."

whose history is obscure. Two works of his have come down to us, however, an *Apology for the Christians*, addressed to the Emperors Aurelian and Commodus, about A. D. 177, and a treatise on the resurrection. He uses the epistle to the Romans and the first to the Corinthians in his *Apology*, and there are besides perhaps allusions to Galatians and 1 Timothy. In *De Res.* 18 he cites from 1 Cor. xv, 54, as from "the apostle," combining with his quotation also one from 2 Cor. v, 10.

Theophilus of Antioch (died about A. D. 181) wrote the *Address to Autolytus* in three books, which we still have. His quotations from the New Testament are numerous and more explicit than those of the earlier writers, although he also often quotes from memory only. He distinctly quotes Rom. xiii, 7, 8, in Aut., iii, 14, and also 1 Tim. ii, 2, and introduces them as being from "the divine word." There are other passages which are plainly borrowed from Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, 1 Timothy, and Titus. But there is no distinct trace of the use of Galatians, 1 and 2 Thesalonians, 2 Timothy, or Philemon.

In this survey of evidence notice should also be taken of the testimony of the early heretical writers, fragments of whose works have been handed down to us in quotations from them made by Irenæus, Hippolytus, and others. Hippolytus, Hær. Ref., vi, 14, gives from the *Ἀπόφασις μεγάλη* of Simon Magus (it was more probably written by a disciple of his) a quotation of 1 Cor. xi, 32. Hip., Hær. Ref., v, 7, 8, cites the Ophites (about A. D. 100) as adducing, in support of their doctrines, Rom. i, 20-27; 1 Cor. ii, 13, 14; x, 11; 2 Cor. xii, 2-4 (quoted as from "Paul the apostle"); Gal. iii, 28 (combined with vi, 15); Eph. ii, 17; iii, 5; iii, 15; v, 14. Hip., Hær. Ref., v, 12, quotes the Peratæ as adducing in like manner 1 Cor. xi, 32; Col. i, 19 (combined with ii, 9). Hip., Hær. Ref., v, 19, gives as from the Sethiani an exact quotation of Phil. ii, 6, 7. Basilides, who flourished about A. D. 117-138, quotes, according to Hip., Hær. Ref., vii, 25-27, the following passages: Rom. v, 13, 14; viii, 19-22; 1 Cor. ii, 13; 2 Cor. xii, 4; Eph. i, 21; iii, 3; Col. i, 26 (comp. Eph. iii, 5, 9, 10, and Rom. xvi, 25). Valentinus (about A. D. 140) and his followers are quoted by Hip., Hær. Ref., vi, 34, 35, as using Rom. viii, 11; 1 Cor. ii, 14; Eph. iii, 14,

16-18; Col. i, 26 (comp. Eph. iii, 5, 9, 10, and Rom. xvi, 25); also by Irenæus, i, 3, as using 1 Cor. i, 18; Gal. vi, 14; Eph. iii, 21; and as grouping together, as utterances of Paul, Col. iii, 11; Rom. xi, 36; Col. ii, 9; and Eph. i, 10.

Heracleon and Ptolemæus (about A. D. 160) belonged to the Italian school of Valentinians. Heracleon is, so far as we know, the first commentator on the New Testament. He wrote comments on the gospels of Luke and John, fragments of which have been preserved by Origen and by Clement of Alexandria. These fragments have been edited and published by Mr. A. E. Brooke.* The passages from Paul's epistles given by Mr. Brooke as having been used by Heracleon are Rom. i, 25; vi, 21; xiii, 4 (perhaps also v, 15); 1 Cor. x, 5; xv, 53, *ff.*; Gal. iii, 19; and 2 Tim. ii, 13. Ptolemæus wrote a letter to an "honorable sister Flora," which is given to us by Epiphanius. In it Ptolemæus quotes, as from "Paul the apostle," 1 Cor. v, 7, 8; he also quotes Rom. vii, 12, and Eph. ii, 15. From Irenæus it would appear that Ptolemæus also used Galatians and Colossians.†

Besides witnesses to individual epistles there are also witnesses in the second century to collections of books of the New Testament. The earliest *Canon* is that of the gnostic Marcion, dating from about A. D. 140. It contains ten of Paul's epistles—although they were somewhat mutilated—which, according to Tertullian, were arranged in the following order: Galatians, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Romans, 1 and 2 Thessalonians, Ephesians (called by Marcion Laodiceans), Colossians, Philippians, and Philemon. *The Muratorian Fragment*, so called because it was discovered by Muratori in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, in a manuscript of the seventh or eighth century, was published by him in 1740. The date most commonly assigned to the original of the fragment is about A. D. 170. Its authorship is unknown. It contains a part of a canon of the New Testament, beginning in the middle of a sentence which relates to the gospel of Mark. In this canon thirteen epistles are ascribed to Paul, and are named in the following order: 1 and 2 Corinthians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians,

* *Texts and Studies*, vol. i, No. 4: *The Fragments of Heracleon*.

† See Westcott on the *Canon*, and Charteris, *Canonicity*.

Galatians, 1 and 2 Thessalonians, and Romans. These form a class addressed to churches. A second class consists of those addressed to individuals: "an epistle to Philemon, one to Titus, and two to Timothy."

The two very ancient versions of Scripture—namely, the *Peshito*, or Syriac, version, used by the Syrian churches, and the Old Latin version, used by the African churches—are thought by many to date from the second century. But the date of neither of them is certainly known. They each contained the thirteen epistles of Paul; they each omitted certain books of our New Testament.

The works of the chief authorities have now been examined down to the period when it is generally admitted that our Pauline epistles were in existence. In summing up the facts drawn from the early Christian writers, the testimony of Barnabas, of Ignatius, and of the Epistle to Diognetus will be left out of account, as, for reasons previously noticed, some may distrust it, although with others it would have great weight. But, if included, it would not appreciably vary the result.

Summary. The epistles especially authenticated by the early Christian writers, in that they are mentioned or formally quoted by one or both of the two most important subapostolic witnesses, Clement and Polycarp, are 1 Corinthians, Ephesians, and Philippians. Possibly 2 Thessalonians, if Lardner's view is correct, is also to be added. Passages from 1 Corinthians are quoted as Paul's by both Clement and Polycarp. The author of the *Homily* couples together "the books and the apostles," that is, the Old and the New Testament,* and uses, as declarations of "the apostles," passages from Ephesians, and perhaps also from Colossians. A passage from 1 Corinthians is quoted as Paul's by Justin, and passages from 1 and 2 Corinthians as "from the apostle," by Athenagoras. Quotations from Romans and from 1 Timothy are called "the divine word" by Theophilus. Six epistles, then, namely, 1 Corinthians, Ephesians, Philippians, Romans, 2 Corinthians, and 1 Timothy, are expressly attested, three being of the undisputed class and three of the disputed. It may be that Colossians and 2 Thessalonians, also of the latter class, should be added. But of these six, 1 Co-

* Lightfoot: *Clement of Rome*, vol. ii, p. 245.

inthians, Ephesians, and Philippians have much the strongest authentication, for the testimony of Clement and of Polycarp, who lived in the first century, is of course of more value than that of Athenagoras and of Theophilus, who lived near the close of the second century. Notice also that emphatic testimony is given to 1 Corinthians and to Ephesians by more than one witness.

The less formal references it is more difficult to classify and to grade. Still, in estimating them, too, the frequency, the clearness, and the date of the allusions give helps by which their value may be judged. All the early Christian testimony, taken together, then, and weighed as nearly as it can be, places the epistles, in respect to their external evidence, in somewhat the following order: 1 Corinthians takes the first rank, and Ephesians the next, not only on account of their early formal mention, but also on account of the frequency of their use. Philippians is, all things considered, perhaps the next best attested, as being expressly mentioned by Polycarp. Romans, however, and also 1 Timothy, are referred to by more authors than Philippians. These two take the next rank; but Romans takes precedence of 1 Timothy. Colossians, 2 Corinthians, and 1 Thessalonians make the next group. 2 Thessalonians (if not referred to by Polycarp) and Titus follow these. 2 Timothy, Galatians, and Philemon are the least attested. Of Philemon we might expect that there would be but few traces.

In the fragments from the early heretical writers we find evidence of the use of eight epistles, namely, the four called undisputed and four of the others. 1 Corinthians is used by seven of the authorities cited; Romans by five; Galatians, Ephesians, and Colossians each by four; 2 Corinthians by two; Philippians and 2 Timothy each by one. The witnesses to collections of books attest the genuineness of all the thirteen epistles, except that Marcion omits the pastoral epistles—an omission, however, which has the less force inasmuch as he is known to have dealt arbitrarily with other parts of the canon. An important consideration should be borne in mind, however, which has been left out of view in making the foregoing summary, that is, the great difference in the length and the character of the epistles. The four "undisputed" are the longest, while all the other nine taken together are only three fifths as long as

they. Again, epistles to churches, and especially prominent churches like those at Rome and at Corinth, would be more likely to be cited than letters to individuals, like the pastoral epistles. Indeed, it seems surprising that 1 Timothy is relatively so much used as it is.

In conclusion it need only be said that the facts which have been collected obviously do not fit well into the Tübingen theory. On the contrary, they are in direct variance with it. If the Christian witnesses of the first two centuries had foreseen the speculations of the nineteenth century and had chosen their extracts from Paul with a set purpose of confuting them, they could hardly have done better than they have. To several epistles which men at the present day "think to be less honorable" they have "given more abundant honor." Galatians, on the other hand, they have only very slightly noticed, although this epistle is the one whose Pauline origin is most confidently assumed by Baur, and whose contents furnish the main support of his hypothesis. The foregoing argument is not designed to confute those extreme critics, like Loman and Steck, who deny the genuineness of all the Pauline epistles. Such men can in their way evade the force of the testimony, conclusive as it may be to most. The argument, it must be remembered, is aimed at those who assume the genuineness of the first four epistles and deny that of the others. And the clear result is to show that this assumption is directly opposed to the historical evidence.

C. T. Mead.

EDITORIAL NOTES AND DISCUSSIONS.

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OPINION.

IN our editorial consideration of the Evangelical Church case, under "Current Discussions" in the present issue of the *Review*, we have desired and earnestly endeavored to deal as fairly as our best obtainable information makes possible with an aggravated, sensitive, and strangely complicated condition of affairs. We do not imagine our examination to be complete or our knowledge exhaustive; but we have received nothing from rumor, have listened to no partisan representations, and most assuredly have written without prejudice, no one of the actors in the strife being personally known to us. We are impressed that the courts, whose judgment has been invoked to settle critical questions arising out of the controversy, have labored with patient painstaking to search out the facts and consequent rights of the whole great struggle and to utter impartially the dispassionate, just, and equitable verdict of the law.

The matters which we have treated as facts have been so accepted only upon high and careful authority; and, beyond the facts, we have simply spoken of the impressions created and the questions raised in our own mind. We are aware that the condition of things is so highly inflamed and sore that it may, for aught we know, be almost if not quite impossible to touch the subject anywhere without causing pain and evoking protest. We certainly do not dwell upon this singular and prolonged conflict because we find delight in commenting upon the misfortunes and distresses of another religious body, any more than we should take pleasure in examining an ulcer. Surely the Church and the world will be none the worse—probably somewhat the better—if we, as well as the sufferers in the case, can discover and lay to heart any lesson of practical wisdom in their present grievous and lamentable experience. We have been actuated by no disposition to censure, but only by a desire to study and search out, to the end that we may learn.

We feel a sorrowful and wholly kindly sympathy for the worthy members of a denomination now so torn and rent asunder after a long and goodly record of usefulness. Looking upon the Evangelical Association in its history and in its present painful plight, all Christian bodies must deplore that such dissensions should have arisen to destroy the harvest of its prosperity and blast the blossoms of its promise.

A WORD to contributors. One of the long-standing customs of this office does not seem to be generally known. The rule which experience has made necessary is that the *Review* does not print any contributed article

which is a review of a book. Manuscripts in which the pages are filled across, no marginal space being left, are undesirable. Sheets written on both sides cause inconvenience and annoyance. No notes, corrections, references, interpolations, or anything else should ever be put on the back of a sheet.

We regret to be compelled to say that some of the compositions we receive are very discomposing to our compositors by reason of the careless and illegible chirography of the composers. Some manuscripts are such cryptographic puzzles that the work of deciphering the hieroglyphics and putting the article in type is tedious and costly. The acceptability of an article may sometimes turn on a point of this kind.

Is not a legible—we do not say elegant—handwriting as obligatory upon all persons in civilized, certainly in educated, society as good manners are? Has one any more right to make his writing a cause of trial, vexation, weariness, and expense to his fellow-men than he has to make his personal presence offensive and burdensome? Is this a mere technicality of etiquette, or does it amount to a question of morals? Is it lawful to put upon others the labor and pains we ourselves should take? Would it be proper to send to this or any other editorial office a contributed article written in Russian, Welsh, or Norwegian and requiring to be translated by us?

WE are asked to furnish proofs of the statement, made on page 802 of the *Review*, that the seeming contradiction between Acts ix, 7, and xxii, 9, might be reconciled by reference to the well-known Greek usage of the partitive genitive. For a general discussion of the subject we refer our correspondent to Thayer's revised edition of Winer's *New Testament Grammar*, pp. 197-200, and also to Green's *Handbook to the Grammar of the Greek Testament*, pp. 208, 209. Green says of ἀκοῶν, that it is followed by both genitive and accusative, and that "the genitive of the thing probably inclines to the partitive sense." He then gives the two texts referred to above, explaining the former, "They heard of the voice, that is, its sound, but not what it said." Substantially the same explanation of the discrepancy is given by Alford, Hackett, Lange, Meyer, and others, although some of them think the mere distinction in the case of the noun is not so much to be leaned upon as the double meaning of the verb, to hear, which in the English idiom, as well as in the Greek, sometimes means to understand the significance of what is spoken and sometimes merely to catch a confused, unintelligible sound.

A SEASON of commercial distress, some two years old in England, and domiciled in this country for some months, is naturally enough coincident with the appearance of considerable literature having a distinctly pessimistic color. The most conspicuous English books of this complexion—we mean among those having a philosophical value—are probably those of Mr. C. H. Pearson and Mr. Walter Pater. Neither is avowedly pessi-

mistic, and they are as unlike as possible; and yet they have a common philosophical spirit in them. The first, under the title, *National Life and Character: A Forecast*, arrays a vast number of facts, showing tendencies unpleasant to vainglorious British pride; such as that the lower classes may soon predominate in England and the lower races rule the entire world at a period not distant. The suggestion of a philosophy underlying it all, that the restlessness and acquisitiveness of the English tribe must at length weary and exhaust it, is rather implicit than explicit. Mr. Pater's *Plato and Platonism* revolves around the republic of Plato as a philosophical, and yet more or less subtly practical, attempt to call the attention of his countrymen to the dangers of their fast and furious life of adventure, novelty, and enterprise. The spiritual content of both books is, not in terms, but in the deeper sense of them, a delicate and cautious criticism of the century just passed, which may, not altogether in caricature, be described as a century of "booms."

We need not array the proof that this newspaper word fairly describes the conditions and spirit of the hundred years behind us. It is not merely a condition of progress, of change, of new things and new forms in abundance, nor yet of invention and of scientific and mental triumphs; it is much more a fluid and mobile state of human society, with immense displacements of population and conquests and colonizations all round the world, with mill-building and city-building—all accompanied by the hopefulness and buoyant, not to say flamboyant, enthusiasms which mark the development of a "boom." The material and statistical facts are important enough; but more important is the impress this movement makes on human character. The common and, let us hope, the sound belief approves enterprise in all its swift processes of change; but there is something to be said for a sober and steadfast world. According to Mr. Pater the idealizing and speculative Plato said all that there is to say long ago, and said it with strict reference to the unsatisfactoriness of the "boom" as a spiritual element in the creation of character. For his Athens was as full of enterprise, movement, change, as it was possible for a small State of that age to be; and it lived in close touch with all the uncertainties of domestic and foreign politics, and delighted itself in great improvements "and new expansions of political privilege"—very much as the modern Englishman and American do.

Doubtless Plato was not alone in feeling that the centrifugal forces in Athenian life had death in them; the "boom" was sure to extinguish the nationality it kept in a fluid mass ready to be blown in any direction, especially in the direction of ruin. From this philosophical view of his own Athens—a view not so much expressed as implied in his scheme of an ideal republic—Plato turned to Sparta as a quiet, orderly, and steadfast land, where men grew up in bonds of inflexible discipline and, when grown, went on applying this perfect discipline to the next generation. There, never was a "boom" known; progress was such as we see in the growth of a tree, slow and orderly, without enterprise and without periods of panic and depression, and especially without a trace of the cor-

rupt politics of Athens and of our modern world. We cannot express sympathy with that Dorian life as a whole; but some part of its disciplinary spirit might be desirable. It would perhaps relieve us of the danger of having periodically to liquidate our booms at great cost and in much humiliation of soul.

The pessimist is never a success: Plato was not. He could not stay for a moment the inevitable collapse of the "boom" public and social life at Athens. Nor in our modern order can the philosopher of sorrows to come expect a large audience. We have, indeed, a successful type of political pessimist; but he succeeds by the "boom" method. "Everything," he tells us, "is wrong; but pass this little bill of mine, and the sun will shine again." He is much addicted to finding the causes of all evils in groups of persons—for example, in those who are so depraved as to lend him money—and not unfrequently starts a "boom" for some form of sectionalism. In short, this pessimist is an agitator, a peddler of novelties, and a part of the centrifugal forces which, if they were not checked by the Constitution of the United States, would as surely wreck us as they wrecked Athens.

The habit of change, the expectation of change, the desire of change—these three represent as many disintegrating forces. They may be successfully resisted by general confidence. In ordinary conditions they probably are effectively resisted. But there are signs that they must have their hour with us and that it cannot be a happy season for us. For example, we have scurried from the Atlantic to the Pacific with incredible speed, and we begin to perceive that presently we shall have no new country to boom. The fear of change in economic conditions is already expressed by more than one man with a scheme of legislation to suggest, and by a silent multitude who are asking in their hearts, "What are we to do for a new expansion of the republic?" The expectation of change arrests production or sets it spinning gayly along. We have seen both in the last three years, caused by tariff tinkering. The forecast all men in a "boom" civilization must make or suffer when change comes requires too much mental effort for the mass of men; and so our history revolves around the acrobatic financial feats of a few speculators in natural conditions and in human credulity. The habit of change imparts restlessness to youth, breaks the strength of maturity, and embitters age. So little can be depended upon to remain constant!

In spite of the increase of schools—some think in consequence of it—the disciplines necessary to the making of men out of boys are more and more relaxed and flaccid. We all sigh sometimes for a touch of the Spartan order in education—that is, in the whole rearing of men. We are as yet saved by the maintenance of older ideals about the rearing of girls; but even here the impatient spirit of our boom civilization is producing some effects unpleasant to look upon. Some minds have turned hopefully to military discipline as a possible remedy; but testimony concerning the moral effects of barrack life cuts off any hope in that direction. What human character needs is a discipline of the entire nature of man. That Sparta obtained;

but we have no relish for the whole result at Sparta, though the Spartan man commands our respect, and sometimes our admiration.

The only hope for us must rest somehow in our Christianity. In generations behind us our faith, as expressed in Puritanism and in other religious forms, did yield a sober and patient discipline. Nothing Spartan commands so much of our approval as the best aspects of Puritan character and life; and there is no intelligent critic of that life, however hostile, who will affirm that our life is, on the whole, higher and nobler than that of the Puritan. Whoever believes in Christianity as divine knows that our health will surely come out of our faith. We cannot be pessimists—things are not at the worst; we have our religion and its glorious history to assure us. The “boom” civilization must pass, but a Christian discipline as strong as the Puritan, but wiser and more refined and more affectionate, will come to give us a better good than Sparta had, a more rational tranquillity, and an order of life in which the human affections are recognized and cultivated and wherein freedom is reconciled with obedience. A sounder philosophy of order and stability, of culture and peace, than Plato dreamed of lies fully revealed in our New Testament. When the “boom” civilization “accomplishes its mission” we shall doubtless find grace given us to apply that philosophy to American life. And it is certain that “new light may break out of the word” for an exhausted and distressed people, whose mobility has shattered itself against the limitations of the natural world. A perfect order, restful, strong, and tranquil, lies in our religion. They are foolish who dream that we have exhausted it; for we have not as yet fully applied it to the springs of individual life by a systematic Christian discipline.

The evils of our overhasty and rashly speculative civilization have their roots in the weak side of human nature. Our society is not mobile—a society on wheels, as we would flatter ourselves—merely because we are enterprisingly impatient to make the world a blossoming garden spaced out with stately and proud cities, or merely because we delight in achievement and honor it without measure; but mainly because self-indulgence and phenomenal acquisitiveness produce restlessness and impatience, break down self-discipline, and incapacitate us for disciplining our children. At this point the old Spartan held himself down, so to say; for if his discipline was harsh toward others it was at least equally harsh toward himself. Nor has any one ever charged that that nobler Spartan, our heroic Puritan, dealt more mildly with himself than with his children or his servants. Christianity attacks the roots of self-indulgence. But its more effective work appears when the mobile enthusiasms over earthly achievements are supplanted by stern principles of conduct and by profound faith in a judgment day and immortal blessedness. Our mobility attaches to our worldliness and our obscured vision of the world to come. The perilous tendencies of it may be checked by a large system of spiritual culture, through which the heroism of endurance and the tranquillity of assurance may be combined with a higher measure than the world has ever known of productive energy and economic thrift.

CURRENT DISCUSSIONS.**THE DISSENSIONS IN THE EVANGELICAL ASSOCIATION OF NORTH AMERICA.**

WHATEVER happens in one religious body, even were it the least, is matter of interest to all other bodies so far as it affects the credit of religion and the moral and spiritual welfare of mankind. The Evangelical Association, though not large, can hardly be regarded by us as an unimportant body. With the grave dissensions which for some time have disturbed, distracted, divided, and threatened almost to destroy it we cannot help feeling a deep and peculiar concern, inasmuch as it is in reality, though not in name, a branch of the Methodist family, and the natural sympathy we have with it because of blood relationship makes us especially lament to see its prosperity clouded, its usefulness impaired, and its fair record blotted. In origin, spirit, organization, government, doctrine, and history it has been strongly Methodistic. Looking back from the present upon its origin, it seems to us to have been auspiciously born. Abating what seem to us some errors of judgment, we cannot help regarding with respect that earnest gospeler, Jacob Albright, a Methodist exhorter, who, being filled from God with anxiety for the conversion of his German brethren, began independent religious labors among them in true missionary spirit at a time when the Methodist Episcopal Church, busy with other tasks, had not yet to any considerable extent trained German preachers or entered upon its German work, which has since grown to creditable proportions both in this country and Europe. Possibly if Albright and his fellows had remained with us the work which he undertook would have been taken up earlier by our own Church; nevertheless his was a noble impatience, and he went forth to become the father of a new denomination known at first as "Albright Methodists" and "German Methodists." In the ninety years since its organization that Church, which was then purely German, has become partly English, while ours, which then had no German Conferences, has now eleven. Albright began his work in the closing years of the last century, preaching in the German tongue with great power through Pennsylvania and parts of Maryland and Virginia. There being no provision for the religious nurture of his converts in their own language in the Methodist Episcopal Church, he and they moved off into independency by force of circumstances, and with the conviction that in such freedom they might better carry on their particular work than under the control and direction of a body less eager in that special line of labor.

First organized in Berks County, Pa., in 1803, it has spread over this continent as far north as Canada, as far south as Texas, west to the Pacific coast, as well as into Switzerland and Germany, and has grown to twenty-five Annual Conferences: East Pennsylvania, Central Pennsylvania, Pittsburg, Atlantic, New York, Canada, Erie, Ohio, Indiana,

South Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Dakota, Iowa, Des Moines, Kansas, Nebraska, Platte River, California, Oregon, Texas, Germany, and Switzerland. It now numbers over 2,000 churches, 1,250 preachers, and 150,000 members. It has been marked throughout its career by Wesleyan fervor and evangelistic zeal; for which reason the measure of its service to the cause of truly spiritual Christianity has not, in proportion to its numbers, been small.

Our interest in the strange events now and for some years transpiring in the Evangelical Association is increased by the fact that they occur under a system of organization and government very like our own, and one which has been supposed to be, by reason largely of the few respects in which it varies from us, less liable to such disturbances than ours. These occurrences start in our minds the query whether proceedings so singular are under our own system more possible, less possible, or possible at all. The Methodist Episcopal Church is not only the mother but the prototype of that denomination. The plan of its ecclesiastical organization is modeled closely upon ours, with certain variations which its constructors adopted because they considered them improvements. Retaining our system of Quarterly, Annual, and General Conferences, superintendents or bishops, presiding elders, an itinerant ministry, denominational and church boards, with other things general and particular, it differs as follows: Its bishops are elected, not for life, but for a term of four years, and are not ordained or consecrated, but receive a term license from the General Conference, signed by the chairman and secretary; the following persons, if elders, are *ex officio* members of the General Conference: the senior book agent, editors of the official church papers, magazines, and Sunday school literature, the corresponding secretary of the Missionary Society, and the bishops, when not in the chair; in the Annual Conferences the presiding elders are elected by the Conference, and the pastoral appointments are made, not by the bishop, but by the presiding elders and the bishop coordinately; the transfer of a preacher across Conference boundaries by a bishop requires the consent of the preacher and of the Conference to which he is transferred; in each society the class leaders are elected. The above are some of the more important differentiations which mark the evolution of this denomination from ours.

All the judicious must grieve, none but groundlings can laugh, and only the wicked rejoice, when any religious body is so rent by differences it cannot compose and quarrels it is unable to quell that it is obliged to resort to the civil courts as the only authority left with power sufficient to command respect and enforce decisions. When any denomination or society by noise of angry brawling and bitterness of wanton strife is guilty of disturbing unnecessarily the peace of Christendom there should be some way of haling it before a supreme court of Christian judgment for censure, compelling it to give bonds before it is allowed to go under penitent promise of good behavior. There may be strifes that bring to the religious world humiliation, sorrow, and scandal, not less, but more, than the fanatical murderous Moslem attacks upon Christians in Damascus in 1861

or the bloody conflicts between Hindoos and Mohammedans in Bombay and Rangoon in 1893, since these were the crimes of unchristianized populations, while those to which we refer are the warring of brethren whose common Master, patient, meek, and lowly of heart, forbids them to fight.

The troubles of the Evangelical Association seem to have arisen out of jealousies, oppositions, and controversies of the bishops among themselves, or, if not this, then in their acts and utterances relative to certain existing quarrels, in which we behold how great a matter a little fire kindleth, and how fraught with danger are the beginnings of strife. After fermenting, spreading, and intensifying for several years these conflicts first came to official denominational notice at the General Conference in Buffalo in September, 1887, at which charges of having carried an official journal into episcopal contentions by making it the advocate of the views and attitude of Bishop Dubs as against Bishops Bowman and Esher, were preferred against the Rev. H. B. Hartzler, editor of *The Evangelical Messenger*, the English-speaking organ of the Church. The trial concluded with a verdict of guilty and the removal of the editor, which also cast the shadow of its condemnation, by implication, across the course of Bishop Dubs. The discussion and vote in this case had the effect to commit most of the voters to one side or the other of the episcopal conflict, and to divide the denomination in sentiment into two hostile camps upon the merits of the dispute. The proceedings of the nineteenth General Conference only aggravated the soreness and sourness, and when it adjourned its members dispersed from Buffalo to their homes in unamiable temper, some of them bent on involving the entire Church in the struggle, and ready to exhaust all resources of belligerent action. Thus the contention went abroad throughout the Evangelical Association, dividing Conferences and congregations, and appearing presently in the civil courts of many States in lawsuits brought to determine the legitimacy of rival claimants to various pastorates and the valid title to church properties claimed by opposing factions in certain societies. One such suit was brought by persons resident in Reading, Pa., before the proper local tribunal, and the judgment of the duly appointed master and examiner, Mr. Louis Richards, a Presbyterian, indorsed by the court, Judge G. A. Endlich, a Lutheran, has been published by those in whose favor decision was rendered, in order that by its circulation their vindication by that court, with the reasons therefor, may be known to the general public.

The simple point at issue and submitted in the bill filed November 27, 1891, in the Court of Common Pleas of Berks County, Pa., by the Rev. Augustus Krecker and others, plaintiffs, against the Rev. Jonas H. Shirey and others, defendants, was whether Krecker and his party or Shirey and his party had legal claim to the pastorate and property of Immanuel Church in the city of Reading; but as the lawful occupancy of said pastorate and premises depended on previous regular and disciplinary appointment to such pastorate by qualified authority, the court, in order to render just decision upon the particular question, was com-

pelled to trace authority to its source and to test its sanctions, which necessitated an examination of almost the entire history of the troubles that have disturbed the Evangelical Association for the past six or eight years; so that judgment is also passed, expressly or implicitly, on most if not all of the questions involved in or raised by the denominational contention. Thus the court not only renders formal judicial decision on the specific point as to the pastorate of the church in Reading and the legal status of the opposing parties therein, but also utters its opinion as to the rival claims to authority of the two majority and minority bodies into which the East Pennsylvania Annual Conference split itself in 1891, and, further, as to the legal standing of each of the men, Dubs, Bowman, and Esher, formerly bishops, now claimants; and, further still, as to the composition, constitutionality, and authority of the two alleged General Conferences which met in October, 1891, the one in Indianapolis and the other in Philadelphia.

The rulings of the Berks County court, which constitute the first decision of a Pennsylvania court upon the Evangelical Church controversy after report of a master and full argument, are in substance as follows:

1. The trial of Bowman in 1890 was lawfully conducted, and its sentence of suspension was operative until action by the succeeding General Conference.

2. The previous exculpation of Bowman by three elders was utterly lacking in disciplinary requisites, and, therefore, wholly invalid.

3. The East Pennsylvania Annual Conference, presided over in 1891 by the Rev. C. S. Ryman, was the only lawful and regular East Pennsylvania Conference, and its ministerial appointments the only valid ones; consequently J. H. Shirey is lawful pastor of Immanuel Church, Reading.

4. The action of the trustees and congregation of Immanuel Church in excluding Kreckler was legally proper and justifiable.

5. The assemblage in Indianapolis in October, 1891, was not the lawful General Conference, because the place for holding it had not been fixed in accordance with the directions of the Discipline, the power to do which belonged in the circumstances only to the oldest Annual Conference, the East Pennsylvania.

6. The assembly at the same time in Philadelphia was not the lawful General Conference, for the reason that it lacked a constitutional quorum.

7. If the Indianapolis body had been lawful its action on the case of Bowman was invalid because not rendered in accordance with disciplinary requirements or the common law governing judicial procedure.

8. The trust declared in the deed of conveyance of the premises on which the Sixth Street Church, Reading, is built is lawful and valid. These rulings, it must be noted, are at variance with the judgment of some court or courts in other States, and may be overruled by the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania, to which the defeated plaintiffs have appealed the case.

The court incidentally passes criticism on ecclesiastical codes and methods of procedure as they appear in the light of the canons of civil

jurisprudence. As is frequent in civil tribunals, the incompleteness of church law and the insufficiency of constitutional and disciplinary provisions come under notice and excite judicial remark. The Berks County examiner characterizes certain proceedings as "a travesty upon even ecclesiastical jurisprudence." He remarks that civil courts are obliged to be liberal "in overlooking the eccentricities of ecclesiastical judicatories;" that most ecclesiastical codes are adapted to conditions of harmony rather than of contention, to times of peace and not to epochs of revolution, and, construed as systems of law, are found to be silent or ambiguous upon many points where it were desirable they should be explicit and distinct; that in ecclesiastical disputes it is common for partisan contentions to take eventually a personal character, which we affirm to be no more usual in Church than in State; that quarrels in a Church are proverbially bitter and irreconcilable. He is of opinion that a rule which permits accusers to select examiners and examiners to summon triers is not well calculated to insure an unprejudiced judgment. He comments upon "the latitude of interpretation of their own rules habitual with religious bodies," rules and forms being looked upon by them as of "little importance compared with the furtherance of the Church's spiritual mission." Examiner Richards says that many zealous and estimable clergymen who would go to the stake in defense of their systems of faith are not strict constructionists in respect to ecclesiastical rules, but that when civil courts get hold of ecclesiastical codes they are obliged to hew to the line in giving them interpretation, and that "a great many matters are transacted in ecclesiastical assemblies which, though gross departures from form, receive the general approval and pass without question."

Incidentally the Berks County examiner refers to various points which have been permanently settled for religious organizations by decisions of secular courts, among which are rulings embodying the general doctrine that the ecclesiastical, like the civil governments, are restrained and controlled by their own constitutions and laws, which they will not be permitted to infringe to the prejudice of the rights or privileges of any of their clergy, laity, or associated membership; that no Church can be allowed to maintain an ecclesiastical despotism to the detriment of any rights of which the civil authority can take cognizance, and that equity will interfere to prevent any act which is contrary to the law of the land or of the body itself; that if the officary of a Methodist Episcopal society refuse to receive a preacher appointed by the bishops it is an act of insubordination to the Church and a violation of its Discipline, and the civil courts will issue a peremptory mandamus commanding the officers, even though backed by the entire congregation, to admit the bishop's appointee; that the intention of the founders of any Church or institution is the polar star which must guide in deciding as to the constitutionality of any questioned actions therein; that where a Church is founded as a Calvinist Church no person who does not receive and preach the entire system of theology taught by that faith has a right to occupy its pulpit, and a court of equity will restrain such person from officiating.

Incidentally the master and examiner turns preacher, holds up to the Christian body whose contentions are before the court the precepts of its great Master, admonishes for disobedience thereof, rebukes the superfluity of naughtiness, and suggests repentance. In particular he comments upon the addresses of Bowman and Esher before the Indianapolis assemblage as approximating in spirit "the diatribes of the ancient Hebrew prophets" toward their enemies, although "their phraseology is much more strongly suggestive of the harangues of the modern political convention," especially in denouncing "the wicked plans of the opposition," whom they described as enemies of the Church, foes unprincipled and desperate, mutineers who should be put in irons or thrown overboard. The civil tribunal suggests that "that charity which is so large an element of the faith of both parties, and which is said by one of the apostles of their religion to be the greatest of all Christian virtues, ought before this to have brought about a reconciliation." It points them to their own Discipline, which declares that strife and litigation are contrary to their duty, and which exhorts them "to avoid all manner of violence, tyranny, and unmerciful or rash treatment, whereby they or others might suffer either in body or in soul, such as quarreling, brawling, and hatred, brother going to law with brother, recompensing evil for evil, rendering railing for railing." Noting that Christian perfection is one of the accepted tenets of their faith, it satirically hints that the road by which some of the combatants expect to attain this high grace must be indicated in the words of their Discipline, "Some, indeed, say that this cannot be attained until we have passed through purgatory."

The Evangelical Association presents such a spectacle as has seldom been seen in ecclesiastical history; a spectacle which, if the Pennsylvania court is right, would be substantially duplicated in the republic if opposing parties had so embroiled civil and political affairs as to produce a situation where there was in the nation no lawful and recognized president, no lawful and respected legislative or judicial body, and in various States of the Union rival governors and rival legislatures all claiming for themselves the sole legality. As the trouble began with the bishops, or, at least became serious by their interference, so, also, the subsequent disturbances have circled around their attitude and action, and have had episcopal participation and leadership.

The singular course of events as described in official records suggests a few reflections, first of all this: We see here a system failing to secure the very thing which it was a particular design of its construction to insure. The Evangelical Association seems to have been born with a dread of episcopal power, and while, by force of inheritance and education, as well as by a perception of the advantages of the episcopal form of church government, it was led to adopt that form, its episcopophobia moved it to reduce the office of bishop to the minimum of importance, influence, and dignity, and to lace it so tight within inelastic limitations that it scarcely had lawful room to breathe. It is somewhat anomalous that from an episcopacy so systematically and severely minimized there should break forth the

most astonishing display of arbitrary temper and reckless audacity in official action; so that the examiner feels provoked to remark that a successor of Jacob Albright may set up as pope and that in Albright's church, as aforetime in the Romish, there may even be a pair of popes. If such unseemly episcopal behavior had occurred in the Methodist Episcopal Church somebody in the Evangelical Association would undoubtedly have pointed it out with an "I-told-you-so" tone as due to the life tenure and corresponding comparative independence of our bishops, as a fulfillment of their prophecies of disaster in our system of administration and in proof of their superior wisdom in narrowly limiting the powers of a bishop, reducing his authority to a minimum, and especially in making the office elective for a 'four years' term—a plan specially invented and supposed to be infallible for the purpose of keeping bishops on their good behavior. But the record is that our episcopacy, which the fathers of the Evangelical Association regarded with apprehension, and which they endeavored, when forming a new church, to reduce to a mere shadow and nominality, has never made such a shameful show of itself or brought our Church into such confusion and strife. Along this line lies long historic cause for thankfulness as well as extended evidence of the soundness of Methodist Episcopal policy. The weakness and peril they allege in our system have not appeared; the strength and safety claimed for theirs seem conspicuously wanting. We do not perceive anything in the events now transpiring in that denomination calculated to incline Episcopal Methodism to withdraw its objections to a quadrennial and every way belittled episcopacy. It is not impossible that the course of these bishops of the Evangelical Association should raise in the mind of some spectator the question whether a larger share of responsibility put upon them by the Church for the creditable conduct of affairs might not have a tendency to promote a greater sense of responsibility, with consequent increase of becoming dignity and needful sobriety.

The record of episcopal conduct in the Evangelical Association during recent years suggests a doubt, to put it mildly, of the personal fitness of the bishops for their office and of the wisdom of the association in selecting those men. Some of their actions make them appear unworthy of even that modicum of power with which the denomination grudgingly intrusted them. If the association had been as cautious in choosing its bishops as it was in safeguarding the office certain strange chapters of history would not have been written. No organization can get the benefit of personal power and administrative ability in its highest officers without allowing scope for the exercise thereof; and while authority and its functions must be clearly defined by the body which confers it and carefully observed by him who receives it, the greatest security after all for a wise, safe conduct of affairs will be found in the man himself, in his pure intention, sound sense, self-control, and executive capacity, without which no amount of statutory limitation can possibly provide for judicious and competent administration. A sane man at large is safer for the neighborhood than a lunatic in a straitjacket.

Without underrating the value of a well-constructed system of government with powers so equitably distributed and parts so fitly coordinated as to run smoothly like a perfect piece of mechanical engineering, the history we are now contemplating impresses us anew with the overshadowing importance of the personal factor in administration. Everywhere manly quality and capability are the things that tell. "There's more in the man than there is in the land" is one of Sidney Lanier's dialect poems. Farragut, at the beginning of the war, was prejudiced against ironclads, and objected to commanding one, saying, "No, give me a wooden vessel and put the iron in the men." Victory is always more in the men than in the machine. An ignorant, inattentive, self-indulgent, or rashly venturesome captain will run upon the rocks the finest steamship ever built. Once in a Methodist Conference a member of it arose and said to the presiding officer, "Bishop, I had pleasure in voting for you in the General Conference which elected you. I hope you are not about to compel me to repent of my action." The minister's apprehension proved unfounded; but it would seem that many of the delegates to the General Conference of the Evangelical Association, which met in Buffalo in 1887, must long since have regretted the votes by which they elected three men to the office of bishop. If the comments of the Berks County court are correct it would seem that there was among the bishops no ecclesiastical lawyer, no one acquainted with the common principles of law or even mindful of the explicit directions of their own Discipline, nor one properly endowed with discretion, though Bishop Dubs comes nearer to it than the others, who in the heat of partisanship lost whatever senses they had, and rushed madly into methods certain to thwart, if nothing else did, the very purposes they were determined at all hazards to accomplish, methods so thoroughly unwarrantable as to invalidate all acts performed thereunder.

The Church of God suffers mortification and dire injury when a bishop, instead of being calm and dispassionate, is excited and passionate; instead of maintaining impartiality espouses the cause of a faction, training in its ranks or even beating a drum at the head of a party column; instead of healing strife foment dissensions; instead of being careful, clean, and moderate in speech indulges in intemperate, vulgar, or abusive utterances which a civil court excuses itself from repeating because they are "too offensive to be reproduced;" instead of showing observant respect to all proper forms, precedents, and laws disregards them in a manner little less than revolutionary.

What kind of a bishop is he who, being found guilty and suspended by what a civil court decides is a duly constituted Trial Conference, conducted in strict accordance with the Discipline, gives himself a certificate of innocence, ignores the order of an authoritative church court, and continues to exercise all the functions from which he has been suspended, denouncing his accusers as liars and all questioners of his authority as rebels? What shall be said of a bishop who supposes that he can withdraw less than one fourth of the members from a Conference num-

bering ninety-two and organize that small minority into a Conference on the steps outside the front door of a church edifice within which the majority, including all the presiding elders, is in session under a duly chosen president, having refused to recognize the bishop because they understood him to have been regularly suspended from the functions of his office; who thinks he can constitute a less than one-fourth minority into the legal East Pennsylvania Annual Conference by his mere decree, with the approval of that minority; and who with this fictitious flat Conference, declaring the more than three-quarter majority to be in revolt, proceeds to create presiding elders, assign pastors, and transact all business as if there could be any validity in such transactions? That the same Bishop Bowman, at Des Moines, in 1890, retired with only six ministers to his room at the hotel and there transacted the business of the Conference is not surprising. How are bishops to be characterized who imagine that they have power to blow an Annual Conference into everlasting nowhere by the mere breath of their mouths, as Esher and Bowman did in 1890, when they announced officially to the Church that the Platte River Conference had ceased to exist, simply because, for reasons which it believed to be legal and obligatory, it would not have one of them to preside over it? But astonishment passes all bounds when we find by the history that these acts and proceedings of the bishops have been pronounced lawful and regular by a body claiming to be the General Conference, and made up of delegates from twenty-three Conferences; and that the same body ordered that ministers by the score, in full membership and good standing, should be expelled from the Church as outlaws without any citation, form of trial, or opportunity to face charges and make defense or answer, thus violating the fundamental maxim of the common law that no man shall be condemned without a hearing, and mangling and mutilating the Church of God by a sort of maniacal hacking and hewing.

As between the bishops, after sentence of suspension had been pronounced, the course of Dubs seems to have been wiser than that of Bowman and Esher. If the latter had respected that sentence as Dubs did, biding the disciplinary time and leaving the entire matter to be decided by the next General Conference, each Annual Conference meantime transacting its business under an elected president, as it was entirely qualified to do, and the place of meeting of the General Conference being fixed without participation of the bishops by the oldest Annual Conference in the disciplinary way, there might have been an indisputably lawful General Conference in 1891 competent to consider all the questions at issue, to settle those things which were in suspense, and to arrive at discreet decisions by methods and majorities which would be in harmony with the Discipline of the association and the principles of common law, and would likewise be so correct and weighty as to command the respect of all law-abiding and order-loving ministers and members and oblige the malcontents to keep silence or withdraw. As to the present legal condition of the episcopacy, if the conclusion of the Berks County Common Pleas be correct it is an office without any incumbent, the suspension of the

three bishops in 1890 being valid until the succeeding lawful General Conference; and no such body having met in 1891 nor up to the present time, the Evangelical Association since 1890 has been without bishops, and remains so until a properly constituted General Conference shall assemble—an event which seems no more probable for any future time than it was for 1891.

In reading the opposing decisions of different civil courts upon the merits of this denominational dispute one regrets to observe what is natural enough but by no means gratifying or confidence-inspiring, namely, that most of these decisions are in agreement with the predominant sentiment in the locality where they are arrived at and announced—a fact which, in spite of all averments of impartiality, tends to raise in disinterestedly unbiased minds a suspicion that examiners and judges, even when honest in intention, may have been unconsciously influenced by local atmospheric pressure. So human are men even when loaded by responsibility as heavy as their ermine is light that there is always danger of their absorbing automatically into their blood whatever quality permeates the air they breathe. The planchette, even under honest fingers that do not mean to push, obeys a force which originates within the man, and is moved and guided by a muscular pressure which must proceed from a subconscious volition. Are we saying that no human verdict or conclusion is ever fair, pure, impartial, and just? By no means; but only that there are always subtle elements, as powerful often as they are secret, which work to the imperiling of a perfectly balanced and equitable result.

It strikes us as peculiar that both at Indianapolis and at Philadelphia the body calling itself the General Conference omitted to examine the record of the findings and sentence of the Trial Conference in the case of each bishop whose course it approved, and in contrast did read and examine the record of the Trial Conference, in the case of each bishop whom it disapproved, deposed from office, and expelled from the denomination. When either of these pretended General Conferences intended to set aside the suspension of a bishop it proceeded to do so on his defensive statement simply, without looking at the record which contained the evidence on which he had been suspended by a Trial Conference. On the other hand, when either of these assumed General Conferences meant to condemn a bishop and support the action of the Trial Conference which had suspended him it produced and read the record of the evidence by which his suspension had been, and his deposition would now be, justified. This looks as if each of these two bodies did what it wanted to do, and admitted only such proofs as favored the course it was bent on taking. If this be true there was nothing judicial in the temper or methods of either body.

A long series of technically irregular proceedings through which it appears impossible to trace any logical or constitutional connection that can be a conductor for the currents of disciplinary authority has produced a situation which from a strictly legal standpoint is one of utter chaos, all true validity having been vitiated; no government possible any

more save by the right of might and by arbitrary self-certified authority. The pulling and hauling of five or six years have produced a snarl so complicated and knotted as to admit of no disentanglement upon the correctness of which tribunals, ecclesiastical or civil, can agree. The amount of vituperative and minacious malediction, and also of vindictive and retaliatory action, is so great as well as so intense and extreme as to put out of sight the probability of reconciliation or of the recovery of a pacific temper.

A comparison of resources between the parties to the strife may be made as follows:

ASSETS OF THE BOWMAN-ESHER PARTY.—1. The larger number of civil court decisions in their favor, various courts in Ohio, Oregon, Illinois, and Iowa having sustained their course and position to a greater or less extent. 2. The larger number of Conferences; complete control in eighteen of the twenty undivided Conferences, and a minority following in each of the five divided Conferences. 3. Two thirds of the episcopal board. 4. All the *ex officio* members of the General Conference, that is, missionary secretary, official editors, and senior book agent. 5. Control of the various treasuries of the association. 6. Most of the denominational press. 7. Representatively about three fifths of the entire membership, say ninety thousand.

ASSETS OF THE DUBS PARTY.—1. Opinions in their favor from Judge Pleasants and Judge Shaw, of the Court of Common Pleas in Illinois, Judge Beale, of a similar court in Nebraska, and the Berks County, Pennsylvania, court already mentioned. 2. The solid support of two of the twenty-five Conferences, with a majority in each of the five divided Conferences. 3. One out of the three contending bishops. 4. A preponderance in their favor in each of the four largest and strongest Conferences, the East Pennsylvania, the Central Pennsylvania, the Pittsburg, and the Illinois. 5. Representatively about two fifths of the entire membership of the denomination, say sixty thousand.

This comparative statement, if not absolutely exact in particulars and complete in the total, is at least approximately correct.

As to the future, the ownership of each piece of church property which has been put in litigation will be, of course, determined by the civil courts having jurisdiction over its locality. Beyond this it seems probable that the Bowman-Esher party, by force of superior numbers and the *de facto* control of the general offices, treasuries, and property of the Association, will take all law into their own hands, and, in general, affirming their own regularity and competency, "hold the fort" to the exclusion and disregard of those whom they have branded as wicked rebels and expelled. To an outsider the denomination seems hopelessly divided, and we see nothing for the minority but to withdraw; in which connection there can be no impropriety in our suggesting, without covetousness or proselyting, that their return to the mother Church from which the Evangelical Association of North America sprung would not be unnatural and might be for them a happy issue out of all their troubles.

TRUTH AND FALSEHOOD IN RAILROAD AND OTHER AFFAIRS.

"COMPLETE truthfulness is one of the rarest of virtues." Herbert Spencer is an accepted authority on this point to those who consider that exhaustive, world-wide, and lifelong studies qualify him to make the assertion. Judging from the conduct of many who are conspicuous in human affairs, they prefer the truth where it answers their own purposes best, and falsehood where it does not. The end is held to justify the means. The New York daily newspapers of August 16, 1893, give prominent place to the process whereby one of the great railroads of the country was placed in the hands of receivers, one of whom was the president of the company owning it. This action was said to have been at the instance of creditors, stockholders, and bondholders, and also of a powerful trust company as trustee of the mortgage. It was said that the company, recognizing the wisdom of the proceeding and the necessity of preserving the unity of the property and of continuing the operation of the property for the public convenience, had submitted to the inevitable, and had not opposed the application for a receivership, but had practically joined in it to secure the protection of the courts from the possible assault of creditors and the consequent dismemberment of the railroad system. The best interests of stockholders and creditors, with the conservation of the enormous properties involved, were the ends consulted.

Not a word need be said against these forthgoings on the assumption that they accurately represent the truth. But how can denial by the president, made on the preceding Saturday, August 12, that papers were being drawn up for a receivership, be regarded? This denial is alleged by the *Tribune* to have been couched "in the most unequivocal and emphatic terms." On the 14th it is said that one of the directors was assured by the president that the company was beyond danger of a receivership. Not only that, but on the 16th a vice president of the corporation was quoted as stating that it was perfectly solvent. A holder of large securities also declared that he had been repeatedly assured by the officers of the safety of the company at a time when papers for the receivership must have been in course of preparation, even if they were not completed. One thing is certain, and that is that the president either knew or did not know that efforts were being made to place the railroad in the hands of receivers. If he did not know it, then his ignorance proves his utter unfitness for the presidency of so large a corporation; if he did know it, then his "unequivocal and emphatic" denial equally proves his unfitness to be the chairman, or even one of the board of receivers, much more to take the management of affairs into his own hands. If he did know what was going on, if he were a consenting party to what was to be done, then by what brief, sturdy, Anglo-Saxon term shall his unqualified and strenuous denial be characterized?

The whole transaction, in the view of the Christian ethicist, widens out into a field of observation covering all of worldly time and space, and

suggests lessons upon character and conduct that may be of sterling service to all who are willing to receive them. Putting the worst construction (any other seems to be inadmissible) upon the solemn statements of the railway magnate, it is matter of deepest regret that he is not a solitary instance of that lack of regard for the truth which debars the speaker from approaching within appreciable distance of it. "You know, gentlemen, why I cannot attach my name to that report," said the Methodist secretary of one of the most famous—and infamous—railroad corporations within the State of New York. "O, well, we don't ask you to violate your conscience," was the uneasy reply. But they had virtually asked him to do so, and because he refused they vacated his position under the flimsy pretext that temporary illness incapacitated him for the further discharge of onerous duty. He would not lie. That false reports, perjured statements, and untruthful representations are not uncommon in railroad circles is generally believed, and the belief is too often justified by demonstrated facts. To say that such corrupting and direful phenomena are quite as common in the cliques managing industrial stocks, the directorates of banks and trust companies, the dealers in dividend-paying and speculative securities, the operators on all the natural and manufactured produce exchanges—nay, even among importers, jobbers, wholesale and retail dealers in merchandise—does not help the case in the least. One wrong or ten million wrongs can by no possibility make one right.

Railroad kings are often compared to great military monarchs. The likeness is remarkable in respect of knowledge of affairs, practical wisdom, administrative ability, and, alas! of that peculiar diabolical genius which doles out truth, or half-truth, or fractional truth, or untruth in such measure and in such guise as in their judgment is most likely to compass contemplated aims. "A false report, if believed during three days, may be of great service to a government," is a political maxim ascribed to Catherine de' Medici. A false report, believed for two days, may be of great pecuniary service to railway and other managers by enabling them to sell their stocks and bonds to a confiding public before the inevitable cataclysm occurs. False reports of utter ruin to the properties involved and of destitution of recuperative power in such properties may further depress prices in the sequent panic and empower the guilty concoctors to fill their safes with securities purchased at much less than their real value. "Between solid lying and disguised truth," writes Disraeli in his *Curiosities of Literature*, "there is a difference known to writers skilled in 'the art of governing mankind by deceiving them.'" While the commercial and financial classes of the United States contain many men of truth, probity, and public spirit, men essential to the perpetuity and prosperity of the republic, men of genuine Christian profession, it must be admitted sorrowfully that they contain other men whose skill in solid lying and in disguising truth is fully abreast of any that Machiavelli or Metternich ever displayed.

The virus is spread throughout the body politic. In party politics "forgers prefer to use the truth disguised to the gross fiction." Debates

on bimetallic questions, and on manufacturing, farming, and industrial interests, furnish ample material for illustration. Whether false reports, disguising the real condition of affairs, may "serve to break down the sharp and vital point of a panic," and to save the public "from the horrors of consternation and the stupefaction of despair," is scarcely worth a second thought in view of the fact that wilder panic and more stupid consternation follow the discovery that imposition has been practiced by those whose words were accepted as of solid truth. The panic-stricken are in danger of sacrificing sterling, as well as spurious, securities.

Recent history, especially of siege, battle, and military maneuvers, is rarely to be depended upon. The history of our late civil war in nearest approximation to complete truthfulness is not likely to be written within the next hundred years. There are too many individual and family reputations at stake to admit free and full utterance of all the facts. In war and in peace some men seek through published falsehood to reach their ends as architects in constructing arches support them with circular props and pieces of timber until they are closed and support themselves; then the props are thrown away. What is true of military, naval, and political lying is also true of professional, fiscal, and business falsehood. "There we may trace the whole art in all the nice management of its shades, its qualities, and its more complicate parts, from invective to puff, and innuendo to prevarication. We may admire [or be shocked at] that stupendous correction of a lie which they had told by another which they are telling, and single to triple lying to overreach their opponents."

Railway properties are strongly affected by this prevalent vice. Railroads have done more to develop the wonderful resources of this country than all other means of locomotion combined. They have changed the wildernesses of the West into fruitful fields, nutritious pastures, and blooming vineyards. They have opened the strong boxes in the Rocky Mountains and brought forth their singularly valuable metallic treasures. They have established fisheries, manufactures, trade, and commerce. They have diffused the blessings of education and abundance of earthly good. They have unified the nation and brought it into close proximity with older civilizations. They have been and are of priceless worth. They should be guarded with the most jealous and scrutinizing care. Had their directors and officials always been truthful, just, and unselfish, the benefits conferred could not well have been overestimated. Eternal, wise, active vigilance is the price of liberty. Without it what may be of untold benefit may become of unexpected injury. Railroad managers, in many and portentous instances, have infused the spirit and practice of falsehood into State and national legislatures, defied the administration of justice, partitioned the territory of the republic among themselves, built up wealthy monopolies, condemned thriving industries to decay and death, seized arbitrary and irresponsible power, exemplified the evils of luxury and of wealth illegitimately acquired, caused "speculative fevers and crises of maddening and universal ruin," discriminated unjustly in freight and passenger rates, given secret rebates, issued inflated stocks,

manipulated contracts, used subsidiary corporations to divert profits from the pockets of shareholders into their own, and have thereby unjustly enriched themselves. The welfare of the commonwealth imperatively demands that they be held to the strictest accountability.

In every department of ordinary social life the suppression of truth and the expression of fractional truth, of truth itself so as to produce the effect of a lie, or of positive falsehood issue from the faultiness and weakness of human nature and from the perversion of some of the finest qualities in it. The desire to please, to be on good terms with others, to profit by association, are all commendable provided they work with consistent regard to truth. Herbert Spencer quotes the ancient Egyptian Ptah-hotep as declaring that "he who departs from truth to be agreeable is detestable." Collective humanity reprobates flattery, and individual humanity, for the most part, lives in the application of it. Public speakers in legislative halls, judicial courts, and religious pulpits are often the subjects of insincere eulogy. Precocious children are complimented by bored visitors, beautiful girls by friends whose eyes are keen to detect moral deformities; books, poems, vocal and musical performances, works of painting and plastic art, by those whose judgment condemns the praise they bestow. Flattery crawls to win its goal by constant agreement with another person's opinions, and converts the flatterer into what Emerson distinguishes as "a mush of concession." Contemptible moral flabbiness is often revealed in testimonials to persons whom some of the parties thereto would gladly see lodged in a State prison. The recent case of a former railroad president is a probably pertinent illustration. Love of truth is not in all this, nor the desire to stimulate to worthy discharge of duty and fulfillment of all worthy obligations.

Of the fibbings, conventional falsehoods, and white lies disfiguring and vitiating social intercourse and common commercial transactions, it is enough to say that they are in jarring discord with the purity and beauty, the probity and healthfulness, of pure Christianity. Lies of the larger class—larger because their malign influence extends more widely through communities, civilizations, and the world—lies governmental, political, and diplomatic; lies mercantile and fiscal; lies corporate and managerial—impair private and public confidence, undermine faith in the veracity and beneficence of public men, wither prudent frugality and all the homely virtues, incite to wasteful extravagance, and vitiate the public conscience while they harden the public heart and spread the deadly malaria of moral rottenness wherever they go.

Lying is no new phenomenon. It is as old, or nearly so, as the Adamic family. In the devil—liar and "murderer from the beginning"—it made its first earthly appearance in Eden. Satan is the father of it, and has many children. He "abode not in the truth, because there is no truth in him. When he speaketh a lie, he speaketh of his own: for he is a liar, and the father of it." In mankind generally the love of truth for truth's sake, without reference to ends, is comparatively small and weak. In nothing does depravity, native or acquired, more painfully

exemplify itself. Numberless statements of assumed facts are wildly and willfully made that are wide of the truth, both in substance and color. Selfishness, seeking gratification, without thought or care for the rights and interests of others, is the sappingly corrupt source from which these noxious emanations spring. It is a versatile nuisance. Here it desires to inflict injury, and hesitates not at false witness; there, to gain unjust advantage, it purposely suppresses truth; and elsewhere it cringingly curries favor by saying what is not true in order to please. It is commonest—Herbert Spencer affirms—where people are subject to despotic, coercive rule, and where existence is aggressive and militant. On western prairies and Central Asian steppes, in Fijian islands and among contending African tribes, and quarreling aborigines of many lands, it is not regarded as wrong, but as a legitimate though cunning convenience. Among the ancient Hebrews it was more or less rife, but was never approved by Jehovah or his servants. Spencer does not overlook the "fact that in the writings of the Hebrew prophets, as also in parts of the New Testament, lying is strongly reprobated." Had he said *all* parts of the New Testament, his confession would have been commensurate with the record. As scientists and as Christians, looking over the whole field of phenomena, fact, and force, we penetrate deeper into the spiritual world for the causes and occasions of these morbid manifestations than the limited scope of his inquiries will permit. Men who submit to Apollyon's rule run aggressive and militant careers in the life which they construe as a pitiless struggle of each with all for survival and happiness.

Some tribes of savages, living in absolute tranquillity, or free from chronic hostilities with neighbors, are reported to be truthful; others, subsisting under conditions of militancy, are said to be quite veracious. With the first there are few, if any, provocations to deceit; in the second no irresponsible tyranny compels evasion or falsehood. Translation into modern social relations is said to evoke like modern traits. The ancient Greeks, whose mental and moral life cannot but be extremely influential upon the plastic spirit of youthful students, were nearly always, and the Cretan section of them "always liars." Grote, who had studied them exhaustively, declares that they "were liars through all grades, from their gods down to their slaves." In the Middle Ages the majority of men thought "perjury but a form of speech, not of crime." The later French aristocracy "were without truth, loyalty, or disinterestedness. Neither life nor character was safe in their hands."

The eminent missionary, Dr. Livingstone, remarks that "untruthfulness is a sort of refuge for the weak and oppressed," and particularly when they are enslaved. The force of this generalization is obvious to students of modern times. The Russians are remarkable for extreme untruthfulness—a vice, among many others, that dissolves the cohesion and menaces the durability of their colossal empire. Egyptians pride themselves on successful lying. Hindoos perjure themselves in courts of justice without emotions of shame. How far removed from primitive savagery, from mediæval militancy, from phosphorescent—because

putrid—Greek morals, are crowds of newspaper reporters, "practical" politicians, astute lawyers, exchangers of values, and forsworn officials of every class? "I said in my haste, All men are liars," read a Scotch clergyman from his pulpit, and added, "Aye, Davie, hed ye lived where I do ye might ha' said that at yer leisure." This ancient story voices the sinking of heart, the weariness of spirit, and the bitter grief of godly men in presence of the world's hollowness and fraudulency.

The first liar wrecked the first human lives by persuading man into the belief that God was not truthful, that coveted advantage would accrue from setting at naught his prohibition, and that the threatened harm would not result from disobedience. Eve and Adam quickly and remorsefully discovered that God is true, that the devil is a liar, and that lying, however fine the art thereof may be, is evil and ruinous only, and that continually. Admitting moral freedom, responsibility, and immortality to be attributes of mankind, and that its highest possibilities can be wrought into reality only through perfect adaptation to the changeless laws by which all things are governed, and which "make for righteousness," then truth is an end to be pursued independently of seeming utility. "To be truthful and to do good," as the virtue required of each and all men, is not only the saying of Pythagoras, but is, in substance, that of Him who is "*the Truth*," and who does what the wise philosopher could not do, namely, points out the way by which perfect being and doing are attainable. The Lord Jesus Christ—God manifest in the flesh—the Infinite revealed under forms of the sinless finite, climax and crown of the Adamic race—and brother to us all, imparts knowledge of that all-perfect will which is the expression of all-perfect nature, endues the truthful soul with power to adapt itself to law, and through patient continuance in well-doing to lay hold on glory, honor, and eternal life.

This all-perfect will, expressing the unalterable order of the universe, is the basis of moral obligation. Actions, morally right, are done from sense of duty. Kant is right when he "insists that action done from affection or desire, or as the outcome of any constitutional instinct, is pathological and not moral." Bowne is no less correct in asserting that "in the moral intercourse of a normal life truthfulness is an absolute duty; and to the truth we have a right. Let your yea be yea, and your nay, nay. This is the ideal of social intercourse. Whatsoever is more than these cometh of evil and tendeth to evil. Language itself presupposes truthfulness; for without it speech would be absurd." Normal moral order is the postulate of American society. Therefore, as Paley affirms, "a lie is a breach of promise; for whoever seriously addresses his discourse to another [as in the case of the railroad magnates under discussion] tacitly promises to speak the truth, because he knows that the truth is expected." "It is the willful deceit that makes the lie, and we willfully deceive when our expressions are not true in the sense in which we believe the hearer to apprehend them."

Lying, in all its Protean forms, is sternly forbidden to all responsible beings as irreverent and rebellious toward the Almighty (Lev. xix,

11, 12), as abominably evil, opposed to the solidarity of believers (Eph. iv, 25) and to the welfare of the liar (1 Peter iii, 10), and as certain of exclusion from heaven. "Without" in the burning lake (Rev. xxi, 8) is "whatsoever loveth and maketh a lie" (Rev. xxii, 15). In the realm of what is avowedly fiction nobody is deceived by language appropriate to it. In abnormal relations such as those existing in actual warfare, contact with madmen, murderers, and thieves, opponents have no right to the truth which they would only use in prosecution of their own fell designs. But in profound peace, under the government of wise, just, and equal laws, and in relations which imply and demand mutual confidence and benefaction, every man ought to speak the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, with his neighbor. Not to do so, but to do the opposite, is a crime against God and against society.

Knowing and doing the truth to the extent of personal ability is essential to freedom from ill, to possession of good, to symmetrical and complete development of individual and social life. False reports, crooked accounts, clandestine combinations for selfish ends, and deceitful assurances are inimical to the whole welfare of men, individually and collectively. So keenly is this felt that we find falsehood sternly reprobated by nineteenth century civilization, and that "the social disgrace which follows convicted lying has powerful effect in maintaining general truthfulness." Veracity is the measure of civilization, and civilization in its best forms is the child of Christianity. The latter enjoins not merely the avoidance of falsehood, but forbids unnecessary concealment of essential facts, and positive unverified assertions. Its spirit and dogma aid the growth of industrial art and commercial exchange, while creating the conditions that favor their expansion. Veracity becomes the first virtue of the moral type, and no character is regarded with approbation in which it is wanting. It is made, more than any other, the test distinguishing a good from a bad man. We find, accordingly, that "even where the impositions of trade are very numerous the supreme excellence of veracity is cordially admitted in theory, and that it is one of the first virtues that every man aspiring to moral excellence endeavors to cultivate." In this virtue lies the chief moral superiority of nations pervaded by strong industrial spirit. Lying, and official lying in particular, is deadly to industrial, fiscal, and material progress.

Truth-loving men love truth for its own sake, and seek knowledge of it as indispensable to attainment of highest good. Their spirit is "one of the latest flowers of virtue that bloom in the human heart." Sincere love of truth implies earnest, conscientious, and unfaltering pursuit of it and acceptance of results as certain to work naught but good to those who love and serve the God of truth. Thus only, through the intellectual activities attendant upon fearless pursuit, is moral status raised by the Spirit of truth, and that magnificent and complicated organism termed civilization advanced toward possible and intended perfection, in which railroad management and reports, among other things, will be entirely truthful—or at least veracious.

PROGRESS OF CIVILIZATION.

ANTHROPOLOGY is a fundamental study. Whatever attention is given to those branches of inquiry which relate to geologic structure, or inorganic life, or stellar phenomena—and these are valid and honorable lines of investigation—it is necessary to know man before we can know the world. His supremacy in the creation; his racial distinctions and peculiarities; his military, literary, architectural, and religious achievements are the key to the story of mundane life. History is a limp and lifeless thing unless he be kept in sight as the central character upon the stage; we care nothing for the genealogical records or the daily routine of mollusks and pachyderms. Poesy seems almost a jingle of empty words when we forget the brain that gave the rhythmic measures birth. Invention deteriorates to a mechanical arrangement and rearrangement of wheels and levers unless we remember the human agency that conceived these mechanisms. Music, the science which has its application in celestial scenes as also upon the earth, degenerates to a chance combination of harmonic sounds if we forget the personality of the composer. In a sense all life centers about man; and to know him better is better to know the universe. There is no tribe of the remotest past in which the student as a consequence is not concerned; there is no individual for ages mixed with mother earth to whom we should not delight to turn as to an object lesson in the great story of humanity. The old aphorism of Pope, that "the proper study of mankind is man," is instinct with eternal fitness of application. Anthropology, in a word, is the window through which the scholar looks out upon an intelligible and harmonious world.

Corresponding also to the need of anthropological study is its fascination. The charm goes hand in hand with the necessity; the great volume of human existence, albeit it is a serial not yet ended, never grows wearisome. We are always at home with the men whose traits we study. In the tropical forests, along the battlefields of Syria, among the Norse explorers; with warrior, priest, and potentate, we feel a sense of fraternity and find in their thinkings and doings some new teaching on the traits of universal man. Indirectly all lines of investigation followed in the schools are a species of anthropological study. Anatomy, psychology, philology, ethnology, political economy, ethics, are all but branches of the great pursuit. And that man is ever the subject under scrutiny, and the agent in the field of performance, gives new zest to our inquiry. For the time being we are even more interested in him than in the angels. His cowardice or his bravery, his clumsiness or his skill, his irreligion or his piety are not only responded to by the answering voices of our own souls, but help in the formulation of those universal laws we seek touching human life. So it is that men are always on the alert for archæologic discoveries. The exhumation of a new group of mummied Pharaohs in Egypt would be quickly telegraphed round the world. Every arrow head turned

up by the plow point has a welcome in the scientist's cabinet. Every Indian mound is a center of instruction. From all sources we are ever glad to learn of man; for man is the interpreter of himself, of life, of destiny.

FROM the Eastern world comes the ominous baying of the dogs of war. To say nothing of the martial demonstrations in Europe, trouble seems brewing along the Chinese-Russian frontier, involving indirectly the ownership of valuable territory and directly the superiority of these two great nations in the Orient. However remote the contest may be, should there come the actual clash of arms it will not be the strife of pygmies upon a petty stage. The two nationalities involved stand out with conspicuousness before the gaze of men. Each has its history of exploit and growth through accumulating generations. Each treasures its traditions of ancestral prowess, and hears the call of the departed from the heights to maintain the ancient standards. Each is fortified for war and, despite its musty traditions or archaic customs or despotic form of rulership, has millions of sturdy warriors to throw into the fray. Cossack and Mongolian, hesitant and sluggish, Greek-Christian and Confucianist, they sit opposite one another in vigilant sentinels prepared for defense or assault. Yet the increasing disagreement between Russia and China not only claims our notice for itself—involving as it does the northern and western Chinese territories now in possession of the Russian staff, and the ownership of other vast Asiatic tracts—but for the important principle justifying warfare which is involved. Why, in other words, should Russia covet Asia? What justification has the Cossack for invasion, attack, massacre, or pillage in the land of the Chinaman? Is a nation, more than an individual, justified in envy of its neighbor's territory and in forcible disruption of those boundaries which time and the consensus of existing governments have granted to another? These inquiries suggest their own refutation. The moral law gives no license to nations which it does not grant to individuals. Governments are not irresponsible, if sometimes they seem conscienceless, agents in the commission of crime. Not all wars are justifiable. The unwarrantable appropriation of neighboring territory, though under the ukase of emperor, is simple and unmitigated theft. The wanton devastation of grain fields, or the burning of cities, is wicked mischief. The slaughter of noncombatants is open murder. How the great Judge of the earth is to visit punishment upon nations, beyond the chastisements of the present that sometimes fall from his hand, is not a matter of knowledge. But governments, which are but an aggregation of individuals, are under the moral law. Whatever Russia might be justified in doing under sufficient provocation, she is not excusable if in cold blood she march eastward toward the China coast. The claim that she needs additional seafront is not a sufficient reason for invasion of the Mongolian empire. Granted that all great governments must have a seaboard; that the Baltic, the Black Sea, and the Caspian are inadequate exits to the great deep for the Russian navy;

and that, as a thirsty hart pants for the water brooks, this interior kingdom, with its growing ambition, thirsts for the boundless ocean—yet in this is not a sufficient excuse for unprovoked invasion and theft on the part of Russia. If her location is in some measure inland she should rather be thankful for so much of the seacoast as fate has bestowed and make the uttermost of her opportunities. National grandeur does not inhere in wide boundaries. When will the nations learn that true greatness rather lies in freedom, industry, sobriety, education, morality, religion?

THE national Senate at Washington, in the special session now holding, has fairly outdone itself in inactivity. It is true that the charge of indifference to general interests is at all times easy, and possibly it is sometimes unjustly made by that watchful Cerberus over public affairs, the secular press; yet in the present instance the toleration of newspaper criticism has been unusual and far beyond the desert. Like every institution on the earth, the Senate must consent to be judged by its fruits. For rank and stilted conservatism, for unswerving loyalty to the old traditions, for the maintenance of a ridiculous magisterial dignity which is out of harmony with the times, and for persistent and masterful inaction history does not furnish a superior instance since the first Senate of Washington. Necessarily well aware, at the head center of information, of the financial stringency that has oppressed all sections of the land, of the languishing industries of our great manufacturing districts, and of the suffering of unemployed workingmen, their answer to the demand of the nation for speedy action upon the silver question has been a gathering up of the robes of senatorial dignity, an almost sardonic belittling of the gravity of the issue, and a prolix exhibit of wordy oratory for which the nation has neither time nor patience. The not unfamiliar question has, under the circumstances, all the freshness of a new inquiry: Is not the quality of statesmanship depreciating? If in other days there went into our legislative halls those whose skirts were stained with venality, intrigue, or undue ambition, their number has certainly not decreased. With a proper understanding of our legislative history from the beginning, and with the remembrance of the jobbery and sale that have sometimes profaned our Senate chambers, we must confess our belief in the deterioration of the present. The exceptions to the rule do not save the criticism. In general the pseudo-statesmanship of the day is a grotesque exhibit. We have nurtured and called forth a brood of puerile politicians. Statesmanship seems gone to seed as the nineteenth century closes! What is wanted is not altogether an increase of intellectual force—though the best brain is needed to grasp the abstruse national problems of the day—but a renewal of the good old quality of patriotism. Statesmanship means the burial of personal interests fathoms deep for the common weal. Wherever in history a recognized statesman is found this has been his prime characteristic. Shades of the great departed, inspire those who play at legislation to the imitation of your virtues!

THE ARENA.

METHODISM AS AFFECTED BY RECENT BIBLICAL CRITICISM.

THERE can be no question but that many who are imbued with the evangelical spirit are very anxious in regard to the outcome of current discussions in theology. The Presbyterian Church, most conservative in points of doctrine, and thoroughly committed to a defense of the Christian faith, has been quite seriously disturbed because the gauntlet of daring criticism has been thrown down within its own communion, to be taken up by some of the ablest advocates of its recognized orthodoxy. Fortunately for Methodism, it has not been perceptibly jostled by these recent movements. It is not probable that the conflict, whatever the final issue, will permanently retard that phase of gospel aggression which strives to reform men's lives and character.

Methodism is evangelical, but it is liberal and progressive, and has never hampered itself with cast-iron *dicta* on matters to be determined by the scientific study of facts and phenomena. In present controversies the Methodist people are deeply interested in so far as the truth and reality of spiritual Christianity may be assailed; but the dispute, except in the temper of some destructive critics, does not immediately affect any of the principles which the Church preeminently promulgates. She has produced sound and able thinkers, who plunge into the thickest of the fray on their own responsibility; and their work will not be in vain. All progressive disciples will take personal delight in the investigation, though it is their chief business to induce the unregenerate to appropriate those revealed truths which scholars cannot question. It is better to suck the honey of the Gospel than to engage in a wrangle about the age and formation of the flowers from which the sweets are gathered.

One party in recent criticism has been endeavoring to show that some of the doctrines which the faithful cherish were uttered under other circumstances and recorded by other writers than those heretofore accepted. The facts and their importance are not denied, but merely the conditions under which they were revealed. While some distinguished scholars betray a lamentable ignorance of the experimental essence of the Gospel, and others are far from comprehending all the gracious possibilities of evangelical faith as taught and exemplified by the Methodists, many with whom the mass of the Church do not yet agree are deeply pious. They insist that the cardinal doctrines of the Bible are in nowise imperiled. Indeed, they place themselves on the Pauline and Methodistic platform of teaching Jesus, only differing in employing high-sounding scientific terms, and claim that the faith must be Christocentric.

The Wesleyan bodies are second to none in their defense of the inspiration and authority of the Scriptures in points of doctrine which affect the individual in his relation to Christ. In other matters, as, for example, in ecclesiastical polity, great freedom is allowed. The narratives in

both Old and New Testaments furnish valuable lessons, and, in whatever light they are viewed, are worthy of respect and credence for instruction in life and manners. The substance of revelation remains the same, no matter what were the names of the chosen prophets. The Grecizing of Schwartzerd into Melancthon did not materially affect the essential features of the Reformation. A critical change in the order or number of the kings of Judah need not be revolutionary to the most orthodox conception of our Lord's Messiahship. Methodism has prudently sought to lay the foundations of its faith on eternal principles rather than on the incidents of historical relations.

We are often alarmed as well as annoyed when some of the processes and conclusions of our thinking are discovered to be faulty or erroneous. We much dislike, after a matter has received prolonged consideration, to be anticipated in our statements, and perhaps be required to modify established impressions. A state of uncertainty in matters that pertain even to dogmatic theology is to many minds distasteful. If opinions with reference to the outer structure on further examination are liable to change, may we not fear that the citadel itself is not impregnable? Yet we are not to distrust the infallibility of truth because our perspective of its external and temporary illustrations may be subject to alteration. If Methodism is to be distinguished for its life rather than its creeds, it will not be affected hurtfully by a scholarly investigation of the sacred records. An evangelical system lives in the present and holds the keys of the spiritual kingdom. The facts of practical regeneration, the comfortable witness of the Spirit, and the blessed privileges of a life fully sanctified are not staked on matters that scholars alone can solve.

Greencastle, Ind.

JOHN POUCHER.

DR. STRONG'S POSITIONS MAINTAINED.

THE matter is hardly worth a prolonged discussion, but the writer in the last "*Arena*," while substantially admitting my main point, has fallen into several inadvertencies and inaccuracies on my subordinate one.

1. My *addendum* was explicitly stated to be merely designed to obviate an impression liable to be derived from a remark in my main article, that Mrs. Adams's poem must be scanned as iambic measure, although I had not expressly said so, but only that it was probably intended as such. In that case it frequently substitutes a trochee for an iambus, and this not "in the first foot" only, but throughout the lines. This is anywhere acknowledged to be a "poetic license," and that of an extreme sort, because it utterly confounds the accent, which may be accommodated in reading or reciting, but cannot be adjusted in singing; and it ought therefore to be eliminated in a correct church hymnal. About this, it seems to me, there can be no reasonable question in scholarship, art, and good taste. "Blank verse," not being intended for music, is irrelevant to the subject. In no case can such violations of prosody constitute "pure iambic," nor did I use that term in this instance, but precisely the contrary.

2. I stated that the poem *might* be scanned as dactylic, and I adduced in proof the tune set to the words in our church book, which exactly tallies in its bars to the measure, thus: "Nearer, my | Gód, to thee, | néarer to | thée;" being three dactyls and an additional or catalectic syllable, a perfectly legitimate though rather infrequent meter; precisely like that of the hymn beginning, "Sóund the loud | tñmbrel o'er | Égypt's dark | séa." This is equally certain and scholarly; nor does it "leave the fourth syllable hanging in the air," in any irregular or superfluous sense. The hymn beginning thus: "Bríghtest and | bést of the | sóns of the | mórn- ing, | Dáwn on our | dárkness and | lénd us thine | áid," of analogous measure, has alternately two (a trochee) and one such added syllable. Many other specimens occur, consistently carried out through the entire composition, even in other species of verse. It is, in fact, a well-established principle in prosody, not only convenient, but pleasing.

New York City.

JAMES STRONG.

A HINT TO METHODIST JOURNALISTIC ENTERPRISE.

THE glory of Methodism has been her connectional institutions. These have enabled us to carry the cross to every part of this vast country, until it is a remarkable thing to find a county where the Gospel is not preached under Methodist auspices. But for the strong "tire" the great "wheel," with its rapid revolutions, must inevitably have gone to pieces. So we must never cease to thank God for our system of general superintendency, our General Conference papers, our publishing houses, and other connectional agencies. They have been indispensable in the past, and they will need no radical change for many decades in the future. Other denominations occasionally criticise us openly, while in their councils and under stress of exigent occasions they secretly envy us our plans. When we consider how much has been said in praise of our connectional system it seems only necessary to indorse the past and turn to something else.

Something more should be done to build up strong local churches in our denomination, or at least to strengthen and give prominence to the great local churches we already have. Here are some reasons why we think so: 1. There is a very apparent tendency in the population of the United States to centralization. 2. The life of this age is more studious and the thought of this generation is more intense than any preceding. The institution of to-day stands or falls by the character of its local representative. The high-school graduate, unlike the frontiersman of half a century ago, will not bear any kind of local preaching and make up what is lacking in contemplating the general glory of the denomination's enterprises. Ezekiel Jones's weekly ministrations in Centerville Church are far more important now than that Methodism produced by Wesley, Whitefield, Asbury, and Simpson. 3. The Scriptures are especially strong in their emphasis of the local church. The epistles of Jesus to the seven churches in Asia, sent by John the Revelator, show clearly that he is looking upon the great and small congregations, and is holding each respectively re-

sponsible for its character and work. 4. It cannot be doubted that there is a strong feeling in the ministry of our Church that our connectional offices are particularly elevated above the pastorate in position and honor. This we believe is largely due to the disproportionate attention of the press to these officials. There are hundreds, and ought to be thousands, of local churches in Methodism where the qualifications for pastor should be as high as those for bishop or missionary secretary.

In view of these and other facts we would like to see the attention of the Church, through her periodicals, especially centered upon the local church interests of Methodism, and connectionalism left to take care of itself for a while. Of course we mean more than mere local church items and announcements. Our Church periodicals have not been niggardly with space for such things. But we mean a systematic exaltation of the local church, and with it the pastorate. To our notion here opens a rich field. There is something in a great congregation's history, the architecture of its buildings, its distinguishing characteristics, its special enterprises, that would greatly stimulate the Church at large. Then the pastors who have been instrumental in gathering these large congregations and holding and directing them have such measures and varieties of gifts that the Church would be the richer for knowing them. And it is not only due these pastors, who have made the pastorate their lifework and have built up these phenomenal moral and religious centers, that the Church and world should know them; but it would be a strong incentive to younger men to qualify themselves for like great service.

We are not at present a pastor, and cannot be accused of any self-interest in these suggestions. We hope the above hint is not offensively strong, and not so elaborate as to deprive some enterprising member of our editorial staff of the credit of originality should he attempt to espouse the cause of the local church in some special way. In case, however, our press does not within a reasonable length of time meet this great want, let the idea above imperfectly elucidated be considered copyrighted by the author.

Albuquerque, New Mexico.

CHARLES L. BOVARD.

WHAT LIGHT HAVE THE HEATHEN?

ALL nations at some time in their history have had supernatural light sufficient to have guided them aright; and if they are without it now it is because they have lost it. This view, we are aware, is contrary to the generally accepted opinion of the Christian world. It is violently assailed by modern evolution, which holds that the present race of men are the product of blind natural law from rude protoplasm, through an infinite series of lower orders of animals requiring millions of ages for their development. This may be set down as rank infidelity simmered down to its lowest essence. The view held by most Christian Churches, that the heathen nations of the world are in possession of all the supernatural light they ever had, is a most dangerous concession to atheistic infidelity. It is a serious reflection on the goodness and justice of God to concede

that he withheld necessary supernatural light from three fourths of the race and conferred it upon the other little fourth, who were probably less needy than the unfortunate majority.

We are so constituted mentally that, if the alternative is to be set before us of a partial supernatural revelation to the race such as the major part of Christendom concede to be the fact regarding the heathen world, or to accept the atheistic doctrine of evolution, we must become an agnostic or an atheist without delay. But we are as certain that God has not been partial in the giving of supernatural light to all nations at some time in their history as we are that the Bible is a divine revelation to the nations that have it to-day. This proposition is, in our humble opinion, as susceptible of proof as that the Bible is a divine revelation. For several years in our early ministry we were on the borders of skepticism regarding this opinion of the moral state of the heathen so commonly accepted by the Christian world, and it was while on heathen ground in the years 1856-58 that our perplexing doubts were perfectly solved, to the great joy of our aching heart. But of course in this department of the *Review* there is not room for the discussion of our proposition, but only space for a modest challenge touching this interesting inquiry.

Spokane, Wash.

W. S. TURNER.

PRESCIENCE OF FUTURE CONTINGENCIES.

THE question of God's foreknowledge of future possibilities, notwithstanding all discussions, seems to be yet very far from a settlement satisfactory to all orthodox thinkers. Dr. Miley, in Volume I of his *Systematic Theology*, deals cautiously and conservatively with Dr. McCabe's theory of nescience, but still clings to the theory of divine omniscience.

In his treatment of man Dr. Miley maintains that God desired that Adam should not sin. He denies that it was the purpose of God to create such a being as would ultimately furnish a basis for the scheme of salvation. But we are not informed how the omniscience of God can be consistent with his desire for a free being who would not sin and with his failure to create such a one.

Suppose the theory of omniscience to be true. Then it follows that God knew that the creation of an infinite number of beings, similar to Adam in holiness and freedom, with like environments, would result in the fall of every one. Or he knew that there would be one, at least, who would not sin. According to a true method of science, if every one of an infinite number broke the law of God it would be inferable that they were created with an inclination so to do. If this is rejected as an implication against God it must be accepted that God knew that one, at least, would not sin. Why, then, did not God create that being?

The only way out of this difficulty, the only way which does no injustice to the character of God, seems to be by way of the theory that the future volitions of Adam were unknown to God.

Lincoln, N. Y.

H. C. BURR.

THE ITINERANTS' CLUB.**THE MINISTERIAL STUDENT—GOING TO COLLEGE.**

WHEN a youth has decided to take a full course of collegiate and professional study, and has made the requisite preparation, the next step is to decide upon the institution which he shall attend. On this point advice must necessarily be general; but, writing for Christians and those intending to be Christian ministers, some suggestions may be in place. The college should be a decidedly Christian college—not merely one that tolerates Christianity, but one that supports it. It sometimes happens that under the name "Christian" there is veiled a sentiment of antagonism to the peculiarities which mark an aggressive Christianity. A professor who sneers at sacred things, who treats with contempt the opinions of the fathers, whose religious convictions are counter to the formal acceptance of the general principles of Christianity, is not a suitable teacher for a youth about to enter on classical or scientific study. He lacks the convictions necessary for the best influence. The young men who intend entering the ministry are already Christian young men. They should continue to have the kind of Christian influence which will strengthen their faith and impart to them a vigorous, healthy Christianity. It is not desirable that they shall be placed in the midst of influences which will lead them to study their religion afresh; that is, to see whether they will accept it or not. They have already done this. The college should increase, not diminish, the strength of their Christian, and the intensity of their religious, life. By this it is not meant that the general tone of the institution should be narrow, bigoted, or intolerant, but that it should be decidedly Christian.

Furthermore, he should select a college which is known to give thorough instruction. The competition on the part of our American colleges in this respect was never more intense than at present. By greater facilities for practical experimentation, by enlarged curricula, and by increased faculties of picked men they are holding out inducements to the candidates for collegiate education. The quality of the scholarship imparted and insisted upon is the main point. The fame of the institution is not half as important as the quality of the work which is done. Its fame as an institution will finally rest upon the work accomplished and the kind of men and women it sends forth into the world. Some of the most successful men in every department of scholastic work have come from colleges unknown to most people until it was announced that these men received their education there. It is also desirable that the college shall maintain to a good degree the old curriculum, including Latin, Greek, and mathematics. We are not considering here whether Latin and Greek should be pursued by all scholars or, indeed, whether a thorough education may not be obtained without them. The advice here given is in view of the fact that those to whom reference is made are preparing for the ministry

of the Gospel, and will have it as their chief business to expound the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. The New Testament should be studied in the original, and the foundation of the Greek should be well laid in the college course.

The environment of the student, both as to spiritual life and the kind of training received, is very important. This is in these regards emphatically the formative period. His tone of thinking is formed largely at this time. Some favorite professor, some valued friends among the students, shape and mold the life. The twos and threes who gather in each other's rooms to pray, to study, to argue, or to criticise are making each other's destiny. It is, therefore, far more than the mere question of scholarship which is to be considered in the selection of a college. Still more important is the question of religious, moral, and general intellectual environment. Hence the choice of a college is of the utmost importance.

THE STUDY OF ORIGINALS.

It is as important for the preacher to pursue the best methods of study as it is to select wisely the subjects which shall demand his attention. The methods vary in their adaptation to each individual, so that no general or absolute law can be laid down. They may have to do with the procedure in actual study or with the order in which studies or books are taken up. Modern critical books—indeed, modern books on important topics in general—are usually accompanied by the most important literature on the subject. The amount of reading necessary to compass this literature with thoroughness is appalling, and many shrink from the effort in despair. In their bewilderment the students ask: Shall we study many books or few? Shall we read the ancient or the modern writers on a given subject?

The answer to these questions will depend largely on the subject under consideration. If it be a purely scientific subject, old books are generally antiquated and can render comparatively little service; but if it be on a question of history or of thought, the older may be much the more valuable. And even in science the study of facts as they are found in nature is more instructive than the discussion of them, even by those best qualified to describe them. It is safe to say that the student should study originals as far as possible. He should study the earth's crust, in geology; the earliest philosophers, in philosophy; the originals of the great poetical and prose works. History, too, should be read in the original documents rather than in the revisions and adaptations of successive historical writers. The actual work of excavation in Greece and Rome is more fruitful of information than the study of many volumes describing what has been found there.

Of course, personal study in many departments is impossible, except to a few; but in history, in philosophy, and in theology the study of the great authors who have practically made their respective sciences is of the utmost importance. The study of Xenophon's *Memorabilia* of Socrates

itself, showing the methods of the great philosopher, will better repay the philosophical student than the study of the commentaries which have been written about it. There is no work on Bible history at all comparable to that contained in the Old and the New Testaments; no life of Christ so clear and full as that to be found in the gospels; no theology that, for clearness, force, and logic, can supersede the Epistle to the Romans. In an appendix to a discussion of the philosophy of Comte there is given a catalogue of works which are to be studied in connection with it. It is urged that these works be read without notes. There is something that is lost in the translation of great works, and also in the comments that are often made upon them. Mr. Froude, in his inaugural lecture at the University of Oxford, said of the method by which he had been educated: "For men who wished to improve themselves I believe it to have provided as good an education as was ever tried. We had certain books, the best of their kind and limited in number, which we were required to know perfectly. We learned our Greek history from Herodotus and Thucydides, our Latin history from Livy and Tacitus. We learned our philosophy from Aristotle, and it was our business to learn by heart Aristotle's own words—everything—every one of them; and thus the thoughts and the language of these illustrious writers were built into our minds, and there indelibly remain."

If this is the true method in the study of history, as one of its great authorities maintains, is it not especially true in the study of the Scriptures? They are written in Hebrew and in Greek. These languages are not difficult to master, or, at least, the difficulties are not insurmountable. The time spent in mastering the languages in which the word of God has come down to us is more than repaid by the enjoyment of drinking from the very fountains of truth and by the rich treasures of spiritual thought that can be found nowhere else. This also applies to the studies of any of the versions of the Scriptures. A special study of our English version, reading and rereading it, will be more helpful than any number of paraphrases and commentaries. Dr. Beck, in the introduction to his *Commentary on Romans*, says: "Even a commentary becomes a snare when the reader, instead of using it as a help to his own study of the Bible, seeks chiefly to know what a commentator says. The commentator is most successful when he writes so that his own words are forgotten and the sacred text only, but with greater clearness, remains in the reader's mind. . . . A man who has only an English Bible, but endeavors with all his powers to grasp its meaning, will do better than one who has the best commentary, but is too idle to think for himself."

"ALMOST," OR "WITH BUT LITTLE."—Acts xxvi, 28.

(Continued.)

A PASSAGE so important as the one here under consideration should be considered not only linguistically but contextually, so that the fullest light may be thrown upon it. There are some texts where the original

language is so clear that there can be no mistake in the translation. Where there are differences as to the proper rendering we must resort to the context, so as to ascertain what was probably in the mind of the writer. Such is the text now under consideration. The translation of the Revised Version differs so widely from the Authorized that some explanation must be found for a rendering which has held its place so long, and which it is now proposed to set aside.

It has been shown already that the rendering "almost" is linguistically tenable. It is also consistent with the contextual and historical relations of the text. Festus and Agrippa, before whom Paul was brought to answer, represented different modes of training and of thought, although they were both in the service of the Roman government. Festus, a Roman, ignorant of Jewish modes of thinking and also of Jewish history, rejecting with scorn the idea of a resurrection, would naturally receive Paul's wonderful account of his conversion and of the resurrection with amazement. It was a line of thought which to him would be not only peculiar, but absurd. It was language which, in the view of the philosophical and scoffing Roman, no sane man would utter. Hence he said, "Paul, thou art beside thyself. Much learning hath made thee mad." It is easy to account for the impression of Paul's speech on Festus. Agrippa, on the other hand, was familiar with Jewish thought and Jewish history. To him the vision on the way to Damascus would involve no absurdity. It was in strict harmony with what had taken place before. He probably remembered the story of Moses at the burning bush, of the Hebrew children, and of Daniel. This would be to him only an added instance of God's manifestation of himself to his people. Hence, to Agrippa, Paul's address would come with force, and would awaken thoughts of God and duty which had long been dormant. It was to be expected that a man trained under the influences of Judaism would have received Paul's address in a far different spirit from one whose life had been environed by pagan thought. This would justify us in expecting him to answer as in the text, "Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian." Further, Paul's answer to the exclamation of Agrippa is evidence that he was conscious of having made an impression. Was it not the belief that he had touched the intellect, if not the heart, of the Jewish ruler that led Paul to exclaim, "King Agrippa, believest thou the prophets? I know that thou believest." It was this belief that led him to add, "I would to God, that not only thou, but also all that hear me this day, were both almost, and altogether such as I am, except these bonds." Paul was not unaccustomed to addressing hostile audiences; he knew by the countenances of those whom he addressed the impression he was making, and he felt sure that Agrippa, worldly though he was, believed the prophets.

The response to Agrippa's declaration is such as would appropriately follow the rendering of the Authorized Version. The whole incident, so far as the relation of Paul and Agrippa was concerned, was one of seriousness. We must also take into consideration Paul's oratorical powers. He had, on other occasions, powerfully impressed his hearers; why not at

this time? As before stated, it was far more likely that Agrippa should have been impressed than Felix, not only because the arguments of the apostle were calculated to impress him more, but because, in this case, it was a born Jew who had been converted speaking to one of Jewish training and antecedents. It is not strange, then, that Agrippa should declare, not with depreciating irony, "With but little," or "With little argument," but with genuine earnestness, "Almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian."

STUDIES FOR THE QUADRENNIUM.

(Continued.)

THE constant demands upon ministers to preach and to deliver addresses on a great variety of subjects require a great diversity of knowledge and a thorough training of the intellectual faculties. The studies of the Conference Course have wisely anticipated this need and provided both for philosophical and for practical studies. The training of the voice is placed in the first year; logic and rhetoric in the second; psychology in the third; the philosophy of theism in the fourth. In addition, a written sermon or essay is required each year. In the department of practical work, while nothing is of small importance, we may emphasize the culture of the voice, the attainment of a good English style, and the development of the reasoning faculties.

Elocution is now regarded as very important. Its value consists not in following the method of any particular teacher, but in mastering those general principles which are fundamental to all correct speaking. This assumes the training of the voice and such general instruction in manner as will correct manifest defects. Its object should be the destruction of that which by habit has become a second nature and the restoration of the natural qualities of tone and methods. Some voices are harsh; they repel by their very mode of enunciating most important and valuable thought. Other voices are smooth, flexible, and pleasing. A rough voice may not be completely changed by study or training into a smooth one, ungraceful movements may not be transformed into graceful ones; but both may be much modified and greatly improved. Sweetness and melody may not be attained, but harshness and rudeness, as proven in many cases, may be removed by a successful teacher or by self-practice in accordance with well-attested rules.

The attainment of the art of expressing one's thought in fitting words and in a good English style is of the utmost importance. "A poet is born, not made," is a familiar adage; but that is not true of the writer. A good style only comes by culture and practice. Of course this can be attained much more readily by some than by others; but the accomplished writers have acknowledged that they became such only after great effort. The choice productions of our great authors have been written over and over, revised and corrected down to the minutest points. The study of rhetoric will lay the foundation; but the study of the mas-

ters of style and the most painstaking care are necessary to produce the required results. This is equally true of sermons as of purely literary productions. It is a mistake to suppose that the refinements of style are lost when employed in a sermon. The same thoughts are much more effective when presented in a pure English style than in loose and disconnected sentences. John Wesley's published sermons are many of them specimens of choice English, and may well be studied as specimens of English style. South has often been recommended to preachers for this purpose. Not that any writer should be servilely studied; but such writings serve to improve the taste and show the way to the improvement of one's own style.

The study of logic is also insisted on. Logic is the schoolboy's terror, and there seems to be a widespread dread of it. It is regularly buried by the students of some great institutions with stately ceremonies. It always comes to life only to be buried again or burned at the close of the academic year. It endures in spite of its unpopularity, because it is so necessary. Like mathematics, it is recognized by instructors as essential to a liberal education. But of what advantage, one asks, is the study of logic to a preacher? We answer, much every way. It produces the logical habit. It reveals the processes of the human mind. It shows that men reason, whether they are conscious of it or not. Logic is not intended to convey information, but to reveal the laws of the movements of the mind from one step to another. Assuming that a certain fact or principle is true, it shows that another fact or principle must be equally correct. The student of logic is the student of the laws of human thought and reasoning. It is a very effective training of the preacher in the analysis of his sermons. One who has been trained in logic is not only enabled to present his thoughts in the natural order, but he is able also more readily to detect in the Scriptures the train of thought of the sacred writers. The habit of consecutive reasoning which has been formed by this study will show itself in his sermons, giving to them at once progress and unity.

Assuming that the preacher knows the word of God, these practical studies will be of immense advantage in presenting it to the people. There is great power in voice; witness the voice of Whitefield, which produced such marvelous effects upon his vast audiences. There is power in style; witness the charm with which the pen of the late Dean Stanley invested his discourses. There is power in analysis; witness the outlines of the sermons of Adam Clarke and Bishop Butler. Whoever would be at his best in the pulpit should not neglect this practical portion of the preacher's studies. He must be a student along these lines as in other respects. The time has gone by when the cruder methods of earlier Methodism are practical or valuable. The time has passed by, if it ever was, when wordiness, rant, boisterousness, platitudes, inanity, sniveling, or "the holy tone" is of avail as means to the great end sought by the preacher of righteousness. In all lesser matters, as well as in the greater, he must be "thoroughly furnished" for the highest results.

FOREIGN RÉSUMÉ.

SOME LEADERS OF THOUGHT.

PROFESSOR DR. CARL KNOKE, OF GÖTTINGEN.

It would be interesting to give here the critical views of Professor Knoke concerning New Testament questions. But, since with him the practical is more weighty than the critical, we set him forth as he is. However, we cannot allow the occasion to pass without calling special attention to the fact that, although he is a thoroughly critical scholar, unfettered by tradition to such an extent that he feels at perfect liberty to reject the Pauline authorship of some of the letters usually attributed to him, yet he does not write for critical ends, but for practical. But of his practical views we can only have space for those upon church order as found in 1 Timothy and Titus. The Church is the congregation of the saints; but the Christian is still a human being, and his fellowship with the saints is a fellowship with human beings. Hence the necessity of external ordinances. This is not in contradiction to the freedom of the Gospel. But with circumstances ordinances must change also. Hence, it may not at once be assumed that the ordinances even of apostolic times are binding to-day. The bestowment of ecclesiastical offices has to do, not with the granting of dignities, but with the securing of proper servants of the Church. Yet the spirit is the same in all ages. Paul's commands concerning church order were self-consistent. The introduction of a mere novelty not demanded by circumstances renders all church order insecure and injures the usefulness of the ministry. This result is to be guarded against, not only in legislation, but also by giving to all ecclesiastical officers a clear idea of their official duties. Some of these thoughts are weighty in the extreme. We live in a day of ecclesiastical tinkering. Few church legislators are fitted for the profound study requisite to an understanding of the needs of the times. There is not the patience, especially among Americans, necessary to the growth of institutions. Ecclesiastical arrangements leave too much the impression of being a hodgepodge of the pet ideas of men who by their eloquence are able to command a majority. Especially does the hasty legislation of our own General Conference during its expiring moments give evidence of this lack of profound study and consistency.

ALBERT KLÖPPER.

A LEADER Klöpper has been ever since, in 1882, he gave to the world his great work on Colossians. His views of the book and its author will therefore be of special interest. After the most thorough investigation of the arguments for and against the Pauline origin of the letter he takes up the hypotheses which would divide the honor of its composition between Paul and certain unknown interpolators, and reaches the conclusion that the book has never been interpolated, but is a unit. Accept-

ing the Pauline origin of the book, he finds it written in the latter part of the first or during the second year of the Roman imprisonment, and the occasion for its composition in the representations of Epaphras concerning the doctrinal errors which were beginning to appear at Colosse. These errors he characterizes as follows: The false teachers belonged to the Jewish-Christian party, and held firmly to the Mosaic law and its ritual of circumcision, festivals, etc. But they widened the law to include a rigorous asceticism or abstinence from the enjoyment of wine and meat—an asceticism, in fact, to which the ideas of clean and unclean, allowable and unallowable, in the law furnish no parallel. To this they added a form of angel worship, an intercourse with supersensuous beings, which we do not meet in such specific and extended form in the old Jewish theology. This angel worship and this asceticism are in organic connection with each other, and this connection is the result of a similar one in the later Jewish theology, and especially of the sect of the Essenes. To this Christianity naturally tended, on account of the ascetic practices of John the Baptist and of the permission to fast after his departure given by our Lord to his disciples. And in fact Klöpper finds generally prevalent in the early Church an ascetic tendency which is encouraged by Paul in 1 Corinthians and elsewhere. Indeed, it is this presence of Essenic asceticism in the early Christian Church which leads him to believe that Paul may have seen in the Colossian Church just such phenomena as are described in Colossians, and hence wrote the letter. In other words, the false doctrines were not later than Paul, as the opponents of the genuineness of the letter say.

KARL JOHANNES NEUMANN, OF STRASBURG.

NEUMANN has distinguished himself chiefly by his researches into the relations which existed between the Roman State and the Christian Church. And the principal service he has rendered pertains to the persecutions and to martyrology. His views relative to the trustworthiness of the *acta sanctorum* and other records of the martyrs will exhibit his thoroughness and at the same time illustrate the proper method of critical research. In order to get at the facts and test for himself the trustworthiness of the records he went carefully through the entire sixty-two volumes of the *acta sanctorum* and compared their contents with all other sources of information on the same subject. He thinks that the records during the early persecutions are generally correct. The Christians took pains to record the confessions and sufferings of the martyrs, and also the cowardice of those who denied Christ under persecution. He does not, however, assent to the truth of all that is recorded. In order to be trustworthy it is not only necessary that some of the expressions employed in them be those technically employed in the processes at law in the supposed period, but also that what is recorded shall not contradict well-attested history as found in other sources. This is a far-reaching principle. First of all, it requires that every such source of information

should present both positive and negative evidences of its trustworthiness. Again, it would exclude the exceedingly improbable miraculous stories so common in martyrologies. But it would not necessarily follow that in every case the whole story was invented; and Neumann allows that there are some records, whose details cannot be trusted, which still afford us much information concerning the sufferings of the martyrs. And even where the records are embellished with imaginary incidents they are not wholly valueless, since they afford an insight into the ideas and customs of the Christians of the period. For example, all the utterances of the martyrs were regarded as inspired by the Holy Ghost, because of Mark xiii, 11. Neumann holds, with most investigators, that there was no systematic purpose to destroy Christianity for more than two hundred years after Christ, and that then the Church had grown so strong that it could successfully resist even the almost unlimited power of the Roman State.

RECENT THEOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF CHRIST'S DEATH FOR HUMAN SALVATION.

THIS work continues to be the most important one in theology. In this old question Professor Dr. Ernst Kühl treats the subject from the standpoint of biblical theology. He begins with a study of the doctrine of the divine righteousness in the pre-Christian period. This he does chiefly by the aid of New Testament utterances. He finds that God's dealings with the race prove that his righteousness did not demand punishment for sin as a consequence of sin itself. The patience and mercy of God prevailed even when, according to his justice or righteousness, he must have punished. His final conclusion is that in both the Old and New Testaments the righteousness of God, as to its form, is that attribute of God according to which he acts consistently with reference to a fixed rule of conduct. As to its contents, the righteousness of God is his adherence to the rule which he has chosen for his own judgments. It will be seen that, according to this, the righteousness of God as revealed in the Bible is not absolute but relative. As to the anger of God, he denies its permanency. It is not an attribute of God, but a temporary manifestation. His permanent attitude toward man is love. The significance of the death of Christ is, first of all, in the irresistible influence upon the hearts of men when conceived as the highest revelation of his love. Because of this God could graciously accept it as an atonement for sin and guilt; as the redemption of a race amenable to punishment; as having a vicarious significance; and, finally, could graciously declare the law of works abolished and establish in its place the new law of faith, in order to give to him who repented of his sin the possibility of a new life—a life which is only in those who have the assurance that their sins are pardoned and their guilt washed away. We have here some new ideas concerning sin, atonement, and righteousness. He does not accept the old theories, yet he rejects their form rather

than their contents. And often it is the form of statement which, by its implications, fails to satisfy. He who can frame a definition of the atonement which shall at once hold fast the truth necessary to the heart and yet satisfy the reason will prove a benefactor to the Church.

A HISTORY OF CHRISTIAN PUBLIC WORSHIP.

A WORK in English like this by H. A. Koestlin is much needed. It takes up the forms of worship in the different ages and branches of the Church and traces their origin, development, and significance. The author begins with the principle of worship in the apostolic age, which he defines as that of edification, order and propriety, reverence for tradition, and Christian fellowship. It is natural—the spontaneous result of the new life within—not the product of reflection. The subject of the worship is the congregation, not the apostles, and the object of the worship is the Lord himself. In the post-apostolic age there is very little change; but what there is points to the radical revolution which characterizes the form of worship in the period of the old Catholic Church. Even during this period, however, the principles of the apostolic age prevailed for a time, though they were finally and completely suppressed. The new principle which rose to the supremacy was the unscriptural idea of the priesthood of the clergy, which was nourished by the other equally false idea that worship was a sacrificial act, having worth in itself. This gave the worship largely into the hands of the clergy, and in so far repressed the activity of the congregation. As the Lord's Supper came to be regarded as an act of sacrifice the custom arose of dismissing all but the faithful prior to its celebration, with all the attendant modifications of belief as to grades and value of church membership. The Roman Catholic worship is not so much distinguished from primitive Christianity by its wealth of liturgical forms as by its inner principle. Primitive Christianity lays the stress upon worship as an expression of the feelings of the heart. Roman Catholicism places the chief value upon the forms of worship themselves. We cannot afford space to trace further the history of the changes of form and spirit in Christian worship. What we need for practical purposes is to clearly conceive and firmly maintain the primitive principle. But it would certainly be a mistake to suppose that nothing can be added to that principle or that no forms of worship may be employed except those in use in apostolic times. Those interested in church history give too little attention to these internal features of ecclesiastical development.

THE NEW TESTAMENT OF CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA.

RECENT investigations into the history of the canon of the New Testament make interesting the following points in the above-named work, by Dr. H. Eickhoff. The word "Scriptures" meant to Clement the Old and New Testaments. He distinguished both between the old and the new covenant and their respective records. The records of the Old and New

Testaments both fall into two parts: in the Old, the law and the prophets; in the New, the gospels and the apostles. The gospels are the traditional four; but the expression "apostles" includes a large number of apostolic and nonapostolic writings, chief among which are the writings of Paul, Peter, and John. The ideas of "apostle" and "apostolic" have a much wider range with Clement than they had later, and include Luke, Clement of Rome, and Barnabas, since he desired to make the traditions of the Church as thoroughly apostolic as possible, on account of the strength this gave the Church in its struggle with the heretics of the time. The ecclesiastical tradition concerning the Scripture, at Alexandria, even went beyond the idea of the apostolic and included such works as the *Shepherd of Hermas* and the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*. Although the canon of Scripture was yet uncertain in the time of Clement it included nothing which was not supposed to have been written in the apostolic age. Since the idea of the apostolic was not clearly fixed Clement felt free to use as Scripture such works as were not known to the Alexandrian Church, but which were known to the Church in neighboring countries. To Clement the canon was fixed, and he attempted to defend it against doubt, the very simplicity with which he speaks of the canon giving us the assurance that it reflected the current belief. That Clement proceeded along traditional lines is evident from the fact that he used a series of Old Testament apocrypha in close connection with New Testament documents. In all probability these stood alongside of his "apostles," and together with them formed a loosely connected whole. We have not space for comment.

RELIGIOUS AND EDUCATIONAL.

ROMAN CATHOLIC CLERICAL EDUCATION.

A HISTORY of ministerial education, in the widest sense of these words, we cannot here give. We must content ourselves with a general outline of the progress of clerical education in the Roman Catholic Church. In the Carolingian period the priests were only required to know by heart the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the prayers of the mass, and to be able to read well the gospels and the epistles of Paul. But while these were the requirements we know that there were those who had reached higher stages of learning, as Scotus Erigena and Alcuin. So far as philosophy was concerned the authorities of the Church were slow to accept the doctrines of Aristotle so long as they came through the channels of the Arabian philosophers. But as soon as the Greek copies of Aristotle fell into their hands they began to employ his methods for the development of the scholastic system. However, while we must respect the scholastic products of the Middle Ages, we dare not imagine that the educated men of that period were scholars in our sense of the word. They knew almost nothing of the Christian literature of the second and third centuries. They had no insight into the historical development of

the Church. A knowledge of the Hebrew was rare, and of the Greek unusual. Thomas Aquinas, the greatest teacher of the Middle Ages, confessed that he did not know Greek. The introduction of a thorough knowledge of language into theological education was brought about by the growing contact of the West with the Orient and with the Spanish Arabs. The more general study of the Greek language began with humanism, toward the end of the fifteenth century; and at the same time the influence of Platonic philosophy and of historical criticism began to be felt. The publication of the Greek New Testament by Erasmus and Ximenes gave the first impulse to a true biblical philology. Subsequent to the Reformation theological education in the Roman Catholic Church took a wider range. More attention was paid to positive theology; the history of the Church was more carefully studied, especially the antiquities of the Church; and the science of biblical introduction sprang into existence. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the historical and theological sciences were developed by a more careful study of the best methods of research and by a collection of materials necessary to a proper understanding of the same. This complete change in the theological curriculum led to the adoption of a new plan of study, which was first brought about in Austria and Germany. In 1752 Archbishops Trautson and Debiel projected a plan of study which included higher (dogmatics, Hebrew, ecclesiastical law), lower (ethics and casuistry), and middle theology (the various forms of biblical study, church history, polemics, and homiletics). In 1788 the course of study, which had continued four years, was reduced to three, and the first year was given up to the study of the Bible, church history, and patrology; the second year, to dogmatics and ethics; and the third to pastoral theology and canon law. It will be seen that that which is really new in the plan is the introduction of church history, of the history of ecclesiastical literature, and of biblical introduction. But even to this day the lectures on church history are not so prominent as to give a proper view of the development of the Church, even according to the Roman Catholic conception of it. Students of theology at Roman Catholic universities are also required to hear a certain number of lectures on philosophy. But it is ever kept in mind that the purpose of education is to fit the youth for the office of the priesthood. This is at once wise and unwise. It is wise because it trains men directly for their future work; it is unwise because it narrows their education and is liable to lead to the rejection of truth which cannot fit into the system they are to advocate and represent. The idea can only be safely carried out when a thoroughly liberal education has been granted prior to the beginning of the clerical education. Properly speaking, clerical education only includes those branches which have to do with the clerical profession, such as homiletics and pastoral theology. All other so-called theological studies, as Hebrew and Greek, church history, and dogmatics, belong in a preparatory course. They should be mastered under the most scientific instructors and be followed by the professional training proper.

SOCIETY FOR GERMAN CHRISTIAN NATIONAL EDUCATION.

THIS association of Christian people held its eleventh anniversary in Rheidt on June 1. During the year a large number of addresses were made and patriotic and church celebrations held in the interest of the work of the society. Small publications to the number of 196,778 were distributed, making a total during eleven years of 2,467,983. Among those printed during the year the titles of the following will enable the reader to understand somewhat of the scope of the work carried on: *The Christian Family a Fortress of Faith, a Spring of Love, an Abode of Hope; German Women and Maidens, Help; In Memory of Sedan; Trust in God—He Helps in Time of Need; The Self-evidence of Faith and the Self-contradiction of Unbelief in our Day; A Mighty Fortress is our God; To Us a Child is Born, to Us a Son is Given; The Redeeming Work of Christ a Fact; Social Democracy and Christianity; Come, Holy Ghost; To Arms against the Dangers which Threaten our People.* The society resolved in favor of a reduction of the number of saloons and a limitation of the right to sell on Sunday, in view of the growing tendency to observe Sunday as a day of rest from daily toil. Were they to argue like those who advocated the opening of the World's Fair on Sunday they would let the saloons alone and put the laborer back to his Sunday toil. They also advocated the necessity of frequent entertainments for all classes under Christian auspices and greater care on the part of teachers and parents to provide good reading for the young.

INCREASE OF THE DRINK HABIT AMONG ENGLISH WOMEN.

THE frightful increase of drunkenness among English women is supposed to be due to the fact that grocers are allowed to sell wine, beer, and spirituous liquors. During the twenty years since license has been thus granted the demon of strong drink has crept into many honorable homes, and the results are seen almost daily in the police and divorce courts. It is believed that the only preventive for this evil is to withdraw the license from the grocers. Many women who now purchase liquors without attracting attention and carry them home to drink would hesitate to enter a public house for the gratification of their appetite for liquor. It is said that the English government will bring this question to the attention of Parliament.

THE TURK AND THE CHRISTIAN.

THE Moslems feel instinctively that the growing influence of the Occidentals, with the widening network of railroads, the introduction of the telegraph, and other means of communication known to modern civilization, and especially the advance of Christian missions, threaten the very existence of their outlived and ossified institutions. Hence all manner of attacks upon Europeans and Americans living in their country. The sultan is unable to preserve order because he himself is opposed and denounced by those who oppose Christianity. Only when the representatives of a foreign government insist upon reparation for wrongs done its

subjects is he compelled to take cognizance of offenses against foreigners. Such was the recent instance at Marsivan. There a girls' school was burned down because on the walls revolutionary placards had been posted. It was done without the slightest attempt to ascertain whether the school authorities were responsible. The American consul examined into the facts and discovered that the chief of police of the city had with his own hand secretly attached these ominous placards to the school walls in order to excite the populace against the Christians. The consul secured the removal of the officer, and will probably secure financial reimbursement for the school. But vigorous measures should be taken by our representatives in the Turkish Empire, in order to deter the violent Turks from injuring our subjects and to guarantee them their rights in all particulars.

THE SUICIDE MANIA IN THE GERMAN ARMY.

It is announced from Berlin that out of one hundred and twelve deaths in the German army during February last twenty-two, or about twenty per cent, were the result of suicide. The vast increase in suicides among the soldiers during the past year is attributed to the severity with which they are treated by their superiors. Yet it appears that the military authorities impose but mild penalties upon officers who mistreat their subordinates. It is not likely, however, that the suicides can be rightfully attributed, in the majority of cases, to mistreatment. It is a part of the general situation in regard to self-murder in Germany. The barracks may, indeed, be the breeding-place for all manner of vice, but the cause lies deeper than this. The prevailing unbelief concerning the future, the pessimism which sees no hope for a betterment of earthly conditions, the effects of a civilization which, at its height, fails to bring happiness—these are the causes which lead to suicide in Germany among civilians and soldiery. He who can inspire hope in the masses of the Fatherland, both for the present and the future, is the one who can check this mania.

A COMMENDABLE FORM OF HOME MISSIONARY WORK.

In all European cities it is quite common to find considerable numbers of foreign females, attracted by the prospect of a livelihood as governesses or as servants. Particularly is this true of German girls, who are found in all the principal cities on the Continent. Nor is it unusual for such to find themselves out of employment for a season, and, as a consequence, without a home. That they may not fall into temptation "homes" are provided where they may temporarily reside at a merely nominal cost. Such "Homes for German Girls" have recently been opened in Florence and in Brussels. This work is not left to be done at haphazard, but is one of the regular departments of the German "Inner Mission" work. These "homes" are usually presided over by a deaconess, who takes all possible pains to provide employment for those under her care. It is one of the most blessed of all efforts for the rescue of those in danger and need. As a form of Christian endeavor it is far more popular with Romanists than with Protestants in America.

EDITORIAL REVIEWS.

SPIRIT OF THE REVIEWS AND MAGAZINES.

IN national finance, according to the aspect of the times, it would seem as if "money answereth all things." Nor can the intelligent mind deny the influence of a stable or fluctuating currency on a civilized people. Great results must be anticipated from the contraction, on the one hand, or the expansion, on the other, of the circulating medium. The experiences and apprehensions of the past few months justify, if they do not compel, profound solicitude for the future of our country. We have been brought face to face with a monetary crisis that would involve evils of no common magnitude. The facts make their appeal, not alone to the political economist and astute statesman, but as well to the thoughtful citizen in whatever position. The President of the United States, in view of the critical condition of affairs, has called together an extra session of Congress, and, in direct and forcible language, and with argument of such weight as should have borne down all opposition, discharged the obligations that his office imposed. When the excitement of the nation was such as to affect all classes and conditions of society, as if to produce a panic came the intelligence that Great Britain was closing the mints of India to the free coinage of silver. The reason given for this course was that "silver had fallen till the money of India, which is silver, had depreciated more than one third." The daily journals have freely discussed the situation, and the prevailing trend of thought shows itself in the ablest periodicals of the land, whether secular or ecclesiastical. The *North American Review* for September discusses "The Silver Problem" in two articles. The first, "A Word to Wage-earners," by Andrew Carnegie, presents the subject under the three heads: "First, what has happened; second, why it happened; and third, the remedy." The latter he believes to be the adoption of a single standard of value. The second article, "The Present Crisis," by Sir John Lubbock, advocates the same policy. The *Yale Review* for August, in "Comment," discusses "The Present Commercial Crisis" and "The Chicago Silver Convention." The *Andover Review* for September contains an editorial on "Congress and the Financial Exigency." May we not hope that true statesmanship and ardent patriotism will manifest themselves in the final action of Congress, and save the nation from evils which all parties should alike deplore and endeavor to prevent?

THE *Presbyterian Quarterly* for October presents a series of papers which are worthy of the closest thought: 1. "Illogical Methods in Biblical Criticism;" 2. "The Importance of the Tenet of Jure Divino Presbyterian Polity;" 3. "Sanctification the Necessary Consequence of Justifi-

cation;" 4. "God's Method in Divine Revelation;" 5. "The Church and Schools and Caliphs." The first article is by Edwin Cone Bissell. Its logic should carry conviction to the mind open to the impressions of reason. He clearly shows that those who "advocate the newer views of the Bible" do not reason "in harmony with the accepted rules of logic." In his view the critics of this class cannot support "their often asserted claim to be scientific." He boldly asserts that "Christianity and its true friends are the friends of free inquiry," and emphasizes the fact that the intelligent believer is such by virtue of the exercise of that freedom. He gives in the reasonings of the higher critics the fallacy of their "illogical assumption." When he shows that the criticism considered "fails to meet proper scientific tests" the sweep is so broad and the stroke is so deadly that candor can see but one result, the utter rout of the higher critic. The fourth paper, by Dr. J. E. Spilman, exhibits the divine wisdom displayed "in the great scheme of human redemption." That God did not "give to the world a complete Bible when he made the first announcement of a Deliverer" is explained by the fact "man needed a preliminary education." He needed experience to show his weaknesses and his wants. "Types and symbols" were the rudimental means of showing "vicarious atonement for sin." Yet no suspicion is allowed that the slow progress in revelation was the result of immaturity in the mind of God as to the redemption that is in Christ Jesus. The delay was from man's lack of readiness to receive a full revelation of the divine plan. Before the philosophers of Athens St. Paul considered it no disparagement of the Gospel he preached to say, "And the times of this ignorance God winked at; but now commandeth all men everywhere to repent."

THE *Yale Review* of August contains: 1. "Comment;" 2. "Memoir and Letters of Charles Sumner;" 3. "The Historic Policy of the United States as to Annexation;" 4. "Edward A. Freeman;" 5. "The Tendencies of Natural Values;" 6. "The Behring Sea Controversy from an Economic Standpoint." In the second paper Professor George P. Fisher reviews the *Memoir and Letters of Charles Sumner*, by Edward L. Pierce, and presents a clear and discriminating estimate of the characteristics and achievements of Sumner. His "undeniable merits" are fully recognized; but, in replying to his opponents in the debates of Congress, Professor Fisher thinks that he "uttered phrases which might better have been left unspoken." A letter to Theodore Parker, written just before Mr. Sumner's speech on Kansas, shows, however, that it was not his wish to eschew such phrases, for he says, "I shall pronounce the most thorough philippic ever uttered in a legislative body." Mr. Sumner first wrote his orations and then committed them to memory. "As compared with Everett his style was pedantic as his culture was less correct and finished." Nor did he "succeed in giving to his delivery that close resemblance to naturalness which Everett was able to attain." "He never, or hardly ever, could be entirely simple and natural. It was natural to him

not to be natural. In other words, he was rhetorical to the core." The reviewer says, "With no wish to depreciate the merits of Mr. Sumner it is only just to say that he lacked the solidity and balance of judgment, the firm but temperate tone of Chase, the tact and humor of Hale, and the sagacity and somewhat excessive, yet often serviceable, prudence of Seward." Yet, says Fisher, "When all proper deductions are made the spotless purity of Mr. Sumner's character, his superiority to the allurements of flattery, his freedom from selfish dreams of ambition, and his unswerving faithfulness to the cause of human liberty, through good report and through evil report, entitle him to honor." The article is written with the candor of the true critic. The other papers of the number show the ability we expect from this quarterly.

THE *New World* for September has a fascinating paper by Dr. C. A. Bartol on "The Boston Pulpit: Channing, Taylor, Emerson, Brooks." He says: "Channing was in stature short and thin. Never had a figure so slight a presence of more weight. He was the center of gravitation for every company he was in, not by monopoly of the conversation or from being forward to speak, but because of a latent power and the expressive look with which he waited for what others, however humble, had to propose." In contrast he presents Father Taylor, the Bethel minister, who was "restless, quick, and playful as a boy, although in liberality with Channing twin." He was supple in body, alert in mind, impetuous in nature, and prompt to every recognized duty. He held every faculty in check at pleasure, but when the time came he would let "the stream of words . . . burst forth in a mellowness equal to its might." "The manner of Phillips Brooks was no less peculiar and distinct. Planted firm, not moving, but like a pillar on his feet, from every lineament and gesture and pore of his skin he poured out his message with an astonishing rapidity, his tongue like a bubbling spring." "Channing was a reflective, Taylor an imaginative, and Brooks an emotional man. Like the sundial, Channing numbered no hours that were not serene. He said that Taylor had Plato's idea of wings. Rather what Taylor had was the actual wings." "For native ability among those I am celebrating," says Dr. Bartol, "Taylor ranks first," and he adds, "The land has not borne a genius more rare nor listened to an eloquence more real and pure. In the sphere of religion he bore the palm." "A sailor says he has been where the United States had not been heard from, but not where Father Taylor was not known." The contrast between Taylor and Emerson was very sharp. "Emerson scarce stirred in his posture and was never at white heat. He sprinkled water on his forge and used the flame for the substance that he wrought." Space will not allow us to do more than to deprecate the influence of the article in this same number, "The New Unitarianism," by Edward H. Hall. Our knowledge of the earlier Unitarians of this country made them dear to us, and we are sure were they living they would mourn the position that the New Unitarianism assumes.

The other articles are: "Ernest Renan," by James Darmesteter; "A Way Out of the Trinitarian Controversy," by James M. Whiton; "The Relations of Religion and Morality," by Wilhelm Bender; "Jesus's Self-designation in the Synoptic Gospels," by Orello Cone; and "The Rôle of the Demon in the Ancient Coptic Religion," by E. Amelineau.

THE *Andover Review* for September contains: 1. "The Supernatural;" 2. "Historical Presuppositions and Foreshadowings of Dante's *Divine Comedy*;" 3. "An Elizabethan Mystic;" 4. "Sunday in Germany;" 5. "Recent Theosophy in its Antagonism to Christianity." In the first paper Dr. Chauncey B. Brewster would eliminate from Christian terminology the word "supernatural," as not found in Scripture and as not necessary in our teaching of truth; but where is there a substitute? Is religion as an experimental fact, or vital religion as required of God, in nature, or is it above nature, and in the *divine*? And are miracles and prophecy the product of man or of God? Is heaven higher than earth, or is being "born from above" any more than being born of flesh and blood? Accommodations to prejudice can never be allowed at the sacrifice of *truth*. And there is much terminology not found in the Bible that, because of the thought it best conveys, wise ecclesiastics and thoughtful men should be slow to abandon. The fifth paper exhibits Madame Blavatsky as the high priestess of theosophy. Certainly there is little in her history to give influence to her teaching. For the breadth of its information and the force of its reasoning the article is one to command the thanks of all Christians.

BESIDES the articles before mentioned the *North American* contains: "The Political Situation," by ex-Speaker Reed; "England and France in Siam," both from English and French points of view; "Polar Probabilities of 1894," by General Greely; "The House of Lords and the Home Rule Bill," by the Earl of Donoughmore; "The Wealth of New York," by Mayor Gilroy; "Christian Faith and Scientific Freedom," by Rev. J. A. Zahn; "Playwriting from an Actor's Point of View," by W. H. Crane; "Counting Room and Cradle," by Marion Harland; "The Lesson of Heredity," by Dr. H. S. Williams; with shorter articles upon "The South Carolina Liquor Law," "The Briggs Controversy from a Catholic Standpoint," and "Needed Prison Reforms." This is a varied and attractive list which will speak for itself.

THE *Fortnightly Review* for September devotes considerable space to European affairs. The silver question in England and British interests in Suez and on the Persian Gulf are discussed in three articles, and a contrast of French affairs in 1793 and 1893 is presented by Albert D. Vandam. We especially note an article entitled "Immortality and Resurrection," which infers that burial is the result of a belief in the resurrection of the body, while cremation anticipates its annihilation. "Passages

from an Autobiography" consists of quotations, with comment, from the manuscript life of Humbert Thompson, who was a Presbyterian minister in Ireland during the close of the eighteenth century.

Our Day for August and September. This "Record and Review of Current Reform" lacks neither purpose nor point. The contents of these issues show vigor of mind and determination of purpose, and are not without those attractions of style that hold the thought to the theme discussed. The first article in the September number, "The Divine Program in the Dark Continent," by Joseph Cook, is a thoughtful and weighty exhibition of facts that must make a powerful appeal to the Christian, the philanthropist, and the statesman. The problem in which providence must have so large a place will find its solution in a way that the present may not predict. The "Editorial Notes" should be wisely pondered.

The New Jerusalem Magazine for September. In this we see the earnest spirit to advance the "New Church" that expresses the conviction of a mind full of its subject. Sincerity is a power. Where we differ we can admire. Goodness, whenever found, exerts its influence, and true love to God and souls will find its reward.

The Wesleyan Methodist Magazine for September. We could wish to dwell on some of the many interesting and vital subjects presented in this number. Such are: "Singularity," a sermon by John H. Goodman from the words, "So did not I, because of the fear of God;" "The Doctrinal Uses of Church Discipline;" "Methodism in the Middle of the Century;" and "Theology in Transition" and the Bible in 'Suspense.'" "Good-bye to the Editorship" is a pathetic paper. He who, following such able men as Joseph Benson and Thomas Jackson, retires after a service of twenty-five years, must justly feel all that he expresses in his farewell issue. It is stated that the late Dr. Peabody said, when he gave up the *North American Review*, after what was deemed a very successful editorship of several years, that "he had made as many enemies as he could endure for the rest of his natural life." That the retiring editor of the *Wesleyan Methodist Magazine*, Dr. Gregory, should have filled his responsible post for so many years must be the strongest evidence that his conduct has made many lifelong friends.

The Missionary Review of the World for September and October. This periodical is devoted to the grandest cause that ever enlisted the human heart and brain, the salvation of men. It is at once a means by which missionary seed is sown and the missionary growth and harvest are reported. We commend the conduct of those having charge. Its "Editorial Correspondents" make such contributions as meet the wants of all who seek to advance the cause of missions.

THE *Homiletic Review* for September and October brings together many articles of variety, beauty, and weight. The devout minister must find in these numbers that which cannot fail to be of great value to him in his preparation for the pulpit. In the September number "The preacher and the Lecture Platform" furnishes Bishop Vincent an opportunity of which he makes royal use.

THE *Methodist Magazine* for September contains much that instructs and pleases. The titles of the following articles suggest how interesting they are: 1. "Tent Life in Palestine;" 2. "The Sea of Tiberias;" 3. "India: Its Temples, its Palaces, and its People." Helen Campbell writes a very helpful article for the Christian beset by difficulties, entitled, "Light in Dark Places."

FOR varied matter, interesting themes, and adaptation to cultivated taste the *Chautauquan* for October exhibits its accustomed excellence. We can hardly examine this issue without admiration for the skill of its editor and the bountiful supply of living subjects.

THE *Nineteenth Century* for September contains much that is invigorating to the mind. In "'Protestant Science' and Christian Belief" Canon Knox Little protests against the effort now being made to stop the teaching of the Apostles' Creed in English schools. "A New Stage Doctrine," by Hamilton Aidé, and "Poaching," by L'Aigle Cole, deserve attention. A glance at "American Life Through English Spectacles" instructs, for we "see ourselves as others see us."

THE *Treasury of Religious Thought* for September. Here the *spirit* as well as the "thought" is "religious." The heart is in the work, and the subjects commend themselves. It is, indeed, a "Treasury" upon which the Christian minister or layman may daily draw to quicken his intellect and enrich his moral nature.

Worthington's Illustrated Magazine for September. This "Monthly Journal for the Family" accomplishes what it attempts. In depicting human nature it is vivacious and pleasing. The ninth of a serial of ten papers appears in this number, entitled, "In 'Ole Virginny'—Fifty Years Ago." The title explains the article, and the paper gives insight into the conditions that make up the Virginia of to-day.—The *Biblical World* for August. Among the many papers of deep import we note especially "The Hebrew Doctrine of Future Life," by Professor Milton S. Terry. He states that while in their fullness life and immortality are brought to light through the Gospel, yet we find in the Old Testament enough to inspire confidence in the supreme bliss of a future state.—The *Contemporary Review* for September has, among its many weighty subjects, "A Reply to Herbert Spencer," by Professor August Weismann, entitled "The All-Sufficiency of Natural Selection." It is learned and convincing.

BOOKS: CRITIQUES AND NOTICES.

AMONG THE HEIGHTS.

THE graduate of Oxford who wrote *Modern Painters*, preparing once for crossing the Simplon Pass, put into his carriage M. Viollet-Leduc's *Massif du Mont Blanc*, and, riding slowly upward in the rain, shut in by clouds among mountain pines with films and shreds of white mist braided and tangled among their dark branches, he read. Finding the book full of false confidence, conceit, and fallacy in its theories of the construction of the Alps, he threw it wearily aside and took up Cary's Dante, which, he says, "is always on the carriage seat or in my pocket—not exactly for reading, but as an antidote to pestilent thoughts and things in general, and store of mental quinine—a few lines being usually enough to recover me out of any shivering marsh fever fit brought on among foulness or stupidity." He read on eagerly in the great book with the result of a rescued mind and a pacified spirit, until the close clouds broke apart and strong light poured through the carriage windows into his face so bright that it waked him like a new morning from his Dante's *Paradiso* trance, and he looked out to behold through the alternate arch and pier of glacier galleries the view of the southern side of the Bernese range from the Simplon, which the pen that is a painter's brush thus describes: "The whole valley below was full of absolutely impenetrable wreathed cloud, nearly all pure white, only the palest gray rounding the changeful domes of it; and beyond these domes of heavenly marble the great Alps stood up against the blue, not wholly clear, but clasped and entwined with translucent folds of mist, traceable, but no more traceable than the thinnest veil drawn over St. Catherine's or the Virgin's hair by Lippi or Luini; and rising as they were withdrawn from such investiture into faint oriflammes, as if borne by an angel host far distant; the peaks themselves strewn with strange light, by snow fallen only that moment—the glory shed upon them as the veil fled—and intermittent waves of still gaining seas of light increasing upon them as if on the first day of creation." And there between the double sublimities of the great mountains and a great book, among the heights of the mind and of the earth, he recovered tranquillity from the perturbing effects of the insolence of pretentious ignorance and the folly of dogmatizing pedantry.

From most human habitations the Alps are far away, but the humblest library may have some of those sublime immortal books which loom and abide like mountain peaks. To dwell lifelong with some such books is the first necessity—to build one's *chalet* on their sheltered slopes, to climb the sheer steepness of their Jacob's ladders, to creep on hands and knees along their dizzy, sharp *arête*, to scale the last splintered *aiguille* that farthest pricks the sky and take there, breathless with awe and thrilled with ecstasy, the vast vision that lies within the stretched horizon, till we fear and hope that the heavens are about to claim us and the earth is letting

us go. After the imperative and perpetual need of such great books the thing of second importance is some acquaintance with the literature of the hour, the newest books, whose permanence no man can yet determine, but which give the world's freshest thought; such, for example, as *Verbum Dei*, by R. F. Horton; *The New Era*, by Josiah Strong; *The Life of Catherine Booth*, by F. De L. Booth-Tucker; and *A Short History of the English People*, by J. R. Green.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

Theology of the Old Testament. By CH. PIEPENBRING, Pastor and President of the Reformed Consistory of Strasburg. Translated from the French, by Permission of the Author, with Added References for English Readers, by H. G. MIRSHELL, Professor in Boston University. 12mo, pp. 361. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. Price, cloth, \$1.75.

If it be true, as we thoroughly believe, that each generation must write its own books in pretty nearly every department of human thought and learning, then most emphatically in the department of biblical study is there call for fresh contributions to our library shelves. Changes and progressions of thought go forward as the Bible, and especially the Old Testament, is viewed from new standpoints and studied in fuller light—light which cannot discredit the Book, although it may alter some theories and interpretations; for, when all possible light has been turned on, the holy volume will only be the more clearly seen to stand stable and unmoved. The theology of the Old Testament has undergone various writings and re-writings by scholars in successive centuries, and our own generation, like its predecessors, tries its hand at an improved reconstruction, which is held by many to be necessary, and which doubtless in every age will be possible, since, while the Bible is of God, the theologies built upon it are of men, and the thoughts of men may widen with the circling of the sun. M. Piepenbring makes his attempt with the design of satisfying those who are anxious first of all to have the exact truth, and next to have this truth so presented and guarded against misconception that it shall not disturb the faith of the Church, or impair that supreme reverence for the sacred book which it would be the greatest of all calamities to lose. The author, while clearly apprehending his duty as an impartial historian to set down the precise facts just so far as the most thoroughgoing scientific and historical investigation shall disclose them, has also kept steadfastly in view the interests of faith; and he takes special pains to show that, though a strictly historical method must be rigidly pursued if we would avoid erroneous views, nevertheless the religious value and authority of the book will not be thereby impaired. He shows a constant care to avoid that lamentable divorce of faith from truth which would degrade the former into superstition and link the latter with unbelief. His claim is that only a false faith, that faith which is the product of Jewish rabbinism and unintelligent dogmatism, can be injured by accepting all the facts which the most critical study brings to light. True faith, faith in the Bible sense, he declares is not "faith in

the sacred letter, but faith in the manifestation of God in history in his interference in the world with a view to the salvation of humanity, faith in the living word inspired by the divine Spirit in the prophets, faith in the holy mission of these men of God." And this faith, which is founded on evident and undeniable facts, cannot, of course, be injured by them. He believes that the Bible has a human side, as well as a divine, perfect, unchangeable, eternal side. He recognizes that the one exists as well as the other, and treats the volume accordingly. The results of this method of treatment, if it be applied by capable and evangelical scholars in the proper devout and reverent spirit, will more and more justify themselves to all truth-loving minds. This book is remarkable for the clearness of its style and the symmetry and convenience of its arrangement. The work is divided into three periods. The first reaches to the beginning of the eighth century B. C., and is characterized chiefly by Mosaism. The second extends from the appearance of the oldest prophetic books to the end of the exile, and is marked by the predominance of prophetism. The third, from the exile to the first century before the Christian era, is the age of Levitism, when the written law and the priesthood had such extraordinary influence. In each period are treated the questions for the time being most prominent; and thus when the treatise is concluded a complete survey of the theology of the Old Testament has been presented. Among the topics discussed are: "The Idea of God," "The Names and Attributes of God," "Creation," "Providence," "The Covenant of Jehovah with Israel," "The Manifestation of God in the World," "The Nature of Man," "The Dignity of Man," "Origin," "Extent," and "Guilt of Sin," "The Messiah," "Angelology," "Demonology," "Death and the Future Life," "Forgiveness," "Atonement," "Ethical Life." On all these and many other subordinate subjects the author exhibits a scholarly endeavor to fairly interpret the Scripture texts and, without reference to the bearing of the conclusions on theological systems, impartially to set forth just what were the ideas of the ancient Hebrews and the more modern Jews. Evidently a work of this kind is indispensable alike to the Bible student and the theologian, since biblical theology has the closest possible relations with both exegetical and systematic theology, and is the foundation of historical theology as well. Professor Mitchell has done the Christian thinkers of America good service in introducing to their notice this excellent volume in so admirable a translation. We shall await with interest the companion volume on the theology of the New Testament which is promised. For it is around the New Testament mainly, around the person and teachings of Jesus Christ, that the chief battle of the ages has hitherto been fought and still must be waged.

The Bible: Its Origin, Growth, and Character, and its Place Among the Sacred Books of the World; together with a List of Books for Study and Reference, with Critical Comments. By JABEZ THOMAS SUNDERLAND. 12mo, pp. 299. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. Price, cloth, \$1.50.

We are genuinely sorry that we cannot give this book by any means unmixed commendation, for with much that there is in it we feel full

sympathy. A great deal of truth that needs to be uttered is set forth by the author with wonderful clearness and force, for he has gathered up, carefully digested, and packed into small compass the ripest results of the researches of the ablest scholars of the present generation, both in the Old Testament and New Testament fields of study. A portion of the book is worthy of all praise, but the other portion must just as emphatically be censured. For the writer goes over so distinctly to the extreme rationalistic side of the biblical controversies, and is so decidedly destructive rather than constructive in his tendencies, that we must deplore what will unquestionably be the evil influence of the volume as a whole. Its dedication to Wellhausen, Kuenen, and other similar spirits somewhat prepares the reader for what he finds in many of its pages. The Bible is regarded as merely one of the six or eight sacred books of the world, in no respect distinguished in kind from the rest, although, of course, having a higher degree of excellence. Everything that is supernatural is summarily, if not flippantly, ruled out as mere legend and myth, to be classed with the similar stories that cluster around the beginnings of all religions. The Bible is not regarded as containing inspiration or revelation of any different sort than is found in other books of both ancient and modern days. Nay, Jesus himself is considered to be simply "the best moral and spiritual product of that old world from which all our great religions have come;" "the race has produced but one Jesus." The "birth stories" and "wonder stories," as they are called, which Matthew and Luke relate, are classed with "similar stories which have gathered round the birth of so many other great characters of history." And the miracles are treated as mere representations of a credulous age. Jesus was merely a man, according to Mr. Sunderland. His "simple humanity," which is found depicted in the earliest of the gospels, Mark, has become exalted into "something superhuman" in the gospel of John, which is supposed to have been written by some unknown person with a polemic purpose far down in the second century. "The journey of Jesus from man to God," remarks the author, "does not end until the Council of Nicea in the year 325; but by the time the fourth gospel is written it is far advanced." This will suffice to show the thoroughly rationalistic standpoint of the book. Its writer is an uncompromising, not to say unscrupulous, foe to supernaturalism, and hence, of course, to truly Christian scholars must remain a wonder and an aversion. The book is dangerous to the average reader, because it slips in so slyly very much that it seems reluctant to state openly, and because, while it avoids frightening by blunt and coarse attacks, it certainly insinuates, and logically leads to, conclusions utterly destructive to all faith in Jesus Christ. It avows itself a friend of the Bible and of religion and morals. It claims that all its blows against the supernatural are given in the interests of virtue and truth. We are not disposed to sit in judgment on the motives of the author; but the adroitness with which a great deal more is suggested than is plainly printed, and the skill with which much is implied which he evidently feels the reader may not be fully ready to have boldly declared, do not impress us favorably.

He professes to be actuated simply by a desire for truth. "Men are obliged to believe that two and two make four," he says; "they cannot believe differently, no matter how much they may wish it." Very good. We say the same most emphatically. But we distinctly note the fact that he has not given us any theory of Jesus or of Christianity from a purely rationalistic basis which succeeds in explaining the admitted facts. We have a right to complain of him for thus ruthlessly tearing down and showing no concern as to building up. We are justified in declaring that on his theory he cannot explain the appearance of Jesus or the rise of his religion. No one has ever been able to do it, and we are confident no one ever will; and until somebody does it—until somebody tells us how it came about that such a being as Jesus, confessedly unsurpassed in these nineteen centuries, came out of that obscure Galilean village as a product of that rude age, and how it came about, if he was only a crucified Jewish carpenter never rising from the dead, that his pierced hand has so turned the course of history from its channels, and that from his cross he has so ruled all the subsequent years—we shall hold to the old Gospel and believe in the old faith. It is all very well to assert that two and two must make four; but it seems to us like saying two and two make five for Mr. Sunderland to tell us that some nobody, about the year 140, or later, more than a century after Jesus died, evolved from his own inner consciousness, as a mere battle-ax in a theological dispute of that age, the marvelous discourses that fill the fourth gospel, and which on this theory were never dreamed of either by Jesus or his immediate followers. No. That makes altogether too large a claim on our credulity. We have some scanty remains of the undoubted writings of the church fathers in that century and the century following, and those of themselves are enough to convince us that chapters fourteen to seventeen of John do not belong in such company, even as we are altogether unable to believe that Jesus Christ was a mere human product of his age. It would seem as though a man must wish this very much in order to bring himself to believe it. To us it seems axiomatically clear that no one can have rightly studied him, with devout heart and unbiased mind, without heartily assenting to the truth of the words ascribed with high probability to Napoleon: "I know men, and I tell you that Jesus Christ is not a man. Superficial minds see a resemblance between Christ and the founders of empires and the gods of other religions. That resemblance does not exist. There is between Christianity and whatever other religions the distance of infinity."

Verbum Dei: The Yale Lectures on Preaching, 1893. By ROBERT F. HORTON, M.A., Author of *Revelation and the Bible*, etc. 12mo, pp. 300. New York and London: Macmillan & Co. Price, cloth, \$1.50.

We have read with the deepest interest every word of this remarkable book. For originality, eloquence, and spiritual quickening it has not been surpassed for many a year. In the literature of homiletics it is absolutely unique in its theme, if not in the freshness, force, and beauty with which that theme is treated. The theme is this: "Every living

preacher must receive his message in a communication direct from God; and the constant purpose of his life must be to receive it uncorrupted and to deliver it without addition or subtraction" (p. 17). What a conception this is! It makes the preacher the veritable successor of prophets and apostles. The realization of this ideal in the life of every minister would revolutionize the world in a generation. The lecturer makes good his thesis. This direct relation of the minister to God does not exclude, but makes indispensable, the ordinary methods of learning the divine messages. The most strenuous study of the Bible is especially necessary. Every preacher should buy this book, if only to read the two chapters, "The Bible and the Word of God," and "The Word of God Outside the Bible." Mr. Horton has laid the clergy under profound obligation by this luminous and inspiring treatise. The reading of it will mark an epoch in the spiritual history of every man who takes it up. And, once begun, cannot be laid aside until it is finished.

Illustrative Notes. A Guide to the Study of the Sunday School Lessons for 1894. By JESSE LYMAN HURLBUT and ROBERT REMINGTON DOHERTY. 8vo, pp. 396. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curtis. Price, cloth, \$1.25. To clergymen and teachers, for cash, 75 cents.

This book for the use of pastors and teachers contains Original and Selected Expositions, Plans of Instruction, Illustrative Anecdotes, Practical Applications, Archaeological Notes, Library References, Maps, Pictures, Diagrams, etc. In the way of comment each lesson has about seven pages of explanation, scholarly and careful, but written in easy, popular style, derived from the most eminent commentators, and intended to throw the utmost possible light on the dark places of the text. Dr. Doherty's "Illustrative Notes" are rich in variety and apt in pertinency, giving brief, pointed, and effective application to the truths of the lesson. Dr. Hurlbut renders great assistance to teachers in his answers to the question, "How shall I go at that lesson?" There are over fifteen hundred anecdotes and illustrations from a wide range of life and literature, helping to make the truth vivid, impressive, and memorable. The engravings are numerous and excellent. The book is an indispensable aid to Sunday school work for 1894. It is what might be expected from a brace of experienced, scholarly, and judicious editors.

PHILOSOPHY, SCIENCE, AND GENERAL LITERATURE.

The New Era; or, The Coming Kingdom. By Rev. JOSIAH STRONG, D.D., Author of *Our Country*. 12mo, pp. 374. New York: The Baker & Taylor Co. Price, cloth, 60 cents; paper, 30 cents.

The author of *Our Country* could hardly write a common book, and the expectations raised by his previous venture for popular favor have been fully met in its successor. He takes the nineteenth century as the point of view for the discussion; and a close and accurate historical investigation introduces and emphasizes his argument. His study is an inter-

pretation, which in turn becomes a prophecy. A clear analysis is made of the Roman, Greek, and Hebrew contributions to civilization; and the physical, intellectual, and spiritual elements of the threefold development merge in the spirit and form of our Anglo-Saxon institutions. On this groundwork the serious duty of the present outlines itself. Opportunity is obligation; and the grandeur of our American opportunity measures the obligation of the American Church and State. Christ, according to the author, explains the enigma of human progress and solves the problems of society as clearly as he does those of personal character. A just conception of Christianity is the germ of the author's philosophy, and in consequence all its conclusions are definite and reasonable. Atheistic and irreligious study touches the circumference alone, while devout and spiritual investigation reaches the center; and for this reason *The New Era* is full of central truths. The fatal distinction between the sacred and the secular, expressing itself in the divorce of doctrine from conduct, is deplored. The increasing alienation of the masses from the Church and the causes of this separation are forcibly sketched, and at the same time the possibility of a complete reconciliation is earnestly maintained. The Church must recognize in the intense activity of the times the need of new methods on its own part, and must adapt its approaches to the conscience of the community and of the individual to the form of present exigency and temptation. It must be wise, eager, economical of resources, and always quick to take occasion by the hand. The chapters on "Popular Discontent" and "An Enthusiasm for Humanity" are perhaps the best. The last is especially eloquent and impressive, marking, as it does, the convergence of the lines of reasoning traced in the preceding pages. Such books as *The New Era* belong to this generation, endowed as it is with solemn and imperative responsibilities. Men must think, and times like these furnish the incentive to thought. This volume is a profound meditation upon those grave and urgent questions of personal and public duty and danger which we cannot avoid. Criticism might busy itself in minute matters, such as the relevancy of some parts of the discussion to its main treatment, the abundant use of quotations, etc.; but these, if they occur, are only incidental, and do not in any way lessen the essential value of *The New Era*, which will attract and hold popular attention and win a notable place in the permanent literature of the day.

Masses and Classes. A Study of Industrial Conditions in England. By HENRY TUCKLEY, Author of *Under the Queen*, etc. 12mo, pp. 179. Cincinnati: Crans-ton & Curtis. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Price, cloth, 90 cents.

This book is opportune. The study of industrial conditions falls alike within the domain of present-day philanthropy and economics, and may be investigated from either standpoint. As long as the working classes are so poorly remunerated as to prevent their acquirement of many ordinary comforts they will elicit Christian sympathy; and as long as the ratio of wages to the profit of the employer continues so disproportionate the adjustment of the inequality will continue one of the burning questions of

political economy. Mr. Tuckley in his volume now under notice seems to speak both as a Christian philanthropist and as a student of economics. His work is along a somewhat unusual line. Avoiding the discussion of abstract principles of reform—of whose overconsideration there is possible danger—he narrates his personal interviews with the representatives of different classes of English workingmen and gives the results of his inquiries as to wages and living. That the breadwinners of England are far worse situated than those in the United States is strikingly borne out by some of his citations. When we read such statements as that a capable English clerk earns from \$500 to \$750 yearly; that the average pay for factory girls is \$2.50 per week; that the wages of farm laborers are under, rather than above, \$3 weekly; and that many "carpenters, bricklayers, masons, plasterers, and other skilled workmen" fall far below \$10 per week, we are keenly impressed that in Great Britain, far more than in America, has the workman cause for grievance. The current saying that "England is the paradise of workingmen" is, in other words, a pleasant sentiment rather than the substantial fact. In respect to comforts the United States is far in the lead. Yet, so far as the American breadwinner has reason for unrest, the present compilation is not without its lessons. The workingman is entitled, if not to more than, yet to all his due. "These English breadwinners are in the vanguard of a battle which must be fought out finally in every nation under the sun, and which, so far as the United States is concerned, has already commenced. This battle is the stern contest of the masses . . . for a larger, fairer share in the products of their own toil, the battle for fair wages and a fair chance to enjoy life." To a proper understanding of the merits of such a conflict all books like Mr. Tuckley's are an important contribution.

Other Essays from the Easy Chair. By GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS. 16mo, pp. 229. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, \$1.

For some thirty-five years the genial author of the above essays occupied the "Easy Chair" in *Harper's Magazine*. During that time he produced not far from fifteen hundred essays; and many were the confirmed readers of the magazine who were addicted to the habit of turning first of all to this department. Of these essays several of the more noteworthy were reproduced in a previous volume in uniform style published since his death, entitled *From the Easy Chair*. The present volume contains about thirty additional specimens from the same rich mine. They cover a great variety of subjects, ranging from a "National Nominating Convention" and "Tweed" to "The New Year," "The Golden Age," and "Spring Pictures," and including articles on "Bryant's Country," Emerson, Beecher, and General Sherman. These little articles may, without exaggeration, be characterized as gems of pure and at the same time fascinating English prose. The students who, in order to acquire a style at once combining elegance, simplicity, and beauty, would have been recommended in a previous generation to spend their days and nights in the study of Addison could hardly in these latter times be referred to a

more perfect model than these kindly essays of Mr. Curtis. But more than this, they are the expression of a cultured, noble, and pure-minded soul, a lover of all that is beautiful and true and good; and they abound in keen insight and homely wisdom as well as the most exquisite medley of eloquence and pathos and humor. In an address delivered before the Brooklyn Society of Arts and Sciences Mr. John White Chadwick said of these essays: "And what was the central theme? It was a plea for good society; for the best society; which is not a matter of wealth, nor of somebody's descent from somebody who was somebody or had something in some former generation; but a matter of intelligence and simplicity and kindliness, freedom from vulgar show, the love of things that make for honor, purity, and nobility in the most ordinary lives." Those who read this dainty volume will enjoy a feast of substantial worth and of delicate and genuine literary flavor.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

The Life of Catherine Booth, the Mother of the Salvation Army. In Two Volumes. By F. DE L. BOOTH-TUCKER. 8vo. Vol. i, pp. 663; vol. ii, pp. 692. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. Price, cloth, \$3.50.

Out of Old England, which gave the Wesleys and the Wesleyan reformation to the world, has come a later evangelistic movement whose blessing is already upon all the nations. To study any such reform in Church or State is to discover the perpetual law of the divine workings that all moral renewals center around the personality of individuals. Were the above volumes merely the life story of a saintly woman who, as the wife of a useful minister of the Methodist New Connexion, had been the instrument of great good in parish work and had finished her course in Christian triumph, they would still merit a place in church biography. But the knowledge that she was the chosen agent, in company with her illustrious husband, for the ushering in of a reform which, at least as to consecration and zeal, is not surpassed since the days of St. Paul surrounds this biography with surpassing interest. It is scarcely possible for the student of modern ecclesiastical history, as he reads the story, to overlook the various parallels between the Salvation Army movement and early Methodism. Both had their visible origin in the hearts of consecrated workers. Each was the outgrowth of the moral laxity of the times; each made its first appeal to the degraded classes of England; and if the earlier Methodism marched without the drum and cornet its spirit has, nevertheless, been essentially military to the present day. But if the Salvation Army appears in some sense a reproduction of the Wesleyan reformation as to spirit, discipline, doctrine, the utilization of the press, and other features, the personal qualities of Susannah Wesley seem also duplicated in her who is now affectionately called "the Mother of the Salvation Army." She was not born for subordinate work, but, in the good providence of God, she was led out into that large place of organization and

leadership for which her biography shows her to have been fitted. In heart qualities, in intellectual vigor, in rare consecration to holy things, in the rearing up of her children to usefulness and prominence in the Lord's work, in her understanding of human nature, Catherine Booth is worthy of all comparison with Susannah Wesley; and, like the mother of the eighteenth century reformer, her influence will be as enduring as time. We would gladly linger over all the features of this biography were it possible; but it is necessarily so voluminous as to render this inexpedient. The reader is well-nigh bewildered by the vast array of facts presented and by the many ramifications in the life history of Mrs. Booth. The place and the power of woman's work in evangelization, the marvelous growth of the Salvation Army in many lands, the agency of religion in sociological reform, and the need of holiness in the Church are taught or suggested by this biography. We can only mention it in praise. It is not prolix and wearisome; it is not constructed with overpartiality, though written by one of Mrs. Booth's kindred. It is intelligent, broad, inclusive, and is not surpassed in subject-matter or execution by any religious biography of the times.

An American Missionary in Japan. By Rev. M. L. GORDON, M.D. 16mo, pp. 276. New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, \$1.25.

The Ainu of Japan. The Religion, Superstitions, and General History of the Hairy Aborigines of Japan. With Eighty Illustrations. By the Rev. JOHN BATCHELOR, C. M. S. Missionary to the Ainu, Compiler of *An Ainu-English-Japanese Dictionary*, etc. Crown 8vo, pp. 336. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. Price, cloth, \$1.50.

The Story of Uganda and the Victoria Nyanza Mission. With Fifteen Illustrations. By SARAH GERALDINA STOCK. 12mo, pp. 223. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. Price, cloth, \$1.25.

James Gilmour of Mongolia. His Diaries, Letters, and Reports. With Three Portraits, Two Maps, and Four Illustrations. Edited and Arranged by RICHARD LOVETT, M.A. Crown 8vo, pp. 336. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company. Price, cloth, \$1.75.

The literature of missions was never more valuable than in these latter days of missionary advance. Necessary instruction is thereby furnished to the home Church, through which its zeal is quickened and its contributions enlarged; and none the less are candidates for mission fields inspired for their heroic and exalted work. We should, therefore, gratefully recognize the purpose of such books as the above, which present the topography of heathen countries, the racial characteristics of the Eastern nations, philological difficulties to be encountered, the customs of heathen worship, or the narrative of missionary successes in foreign fields.

The first two books, which we now group together, belonging to this instructive class, have reference to the progress of Christian work in Japan. It is twenty years since Dr. Gordon went as a missionary to this field; and as an experienced worker among the Japanese and later the Professor of Homiletics and Pastoral Theology in the Dôshisha University, his descriptions have the merit of accuracy as well as vividness. Grouping in a miscellaneous way the story of Japanese customs, traits,

and vigor, he has given a new interest to missionary work in that distant land. And the Gospel is there mightily progressing. For, primarily, he has aimed, as he asserts, to record what he has seen "of the wonderful manner in which the religion of Christ is approaching the minds and hearts and lives of the Japanese people, and their noble response to this divine and gracious approach." The Ainu, to whom among others the good news of salvation has been carried, are "the aborigines of Japan." Superstitions, polytheistic, and decadent as they are, Mr. Batchelor, in his volume, has drawn their picture with a graphic pen.

The story of Uganda, as told by Sarah Geraldina Stock, is a record of sun and shadow, of safety and danger, of life and death, for the missionary workers of Eastern Africa. The martyrdom of Bishop Hannington, the untimely death of Bishop Parker and Mackay, and the massacre of native converts in 1886, are among the tragedies that crowd the volume. Yet, however variant the success of missionary work in Uganda up to the present time, one cannot but feel that ultimate triumph is there insured for Christianity under the lead of such self-denying, consecrated, death-defying missionaries as are herein described. Through such is the kingdom of heaven taken by force.

Among the noble souls that have gone heavenward from the midst of missionary toil must be written the name of James Gilmour. Of Scottish birth, and educated at Glasgow University, he went to China in 1870, and was privileged to spend twenty-one years in labor among the Mongolians. For his piety, his quaintness of character, his sweet domestic associations, and his marked success in a difficult field his memoir is full of charm. One closes the book with a new sense of kinship to those who are toiling in the far places to make God's kingdom come; and with a prayer that, under the inspiration of such literature, new apostles may go forth to answer the Macedonian voices which fill the world.

A Short History of the English People. By J. R. GREEN, M.A. Illustrated Edition. Edited by Mrs. J. R. GREEN and Miss KATE NORGATE. 8vo, pp. 931 (two volumes). New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, \$5 per volume.

In the enumeration of the master historians of the century the name of John Richard Green will not be omitted. The examination of the present beautiful volumes, which are a part of a series, no less impresses the reader with the majesty of the national history that is depicted, or the perfection of the illustrator's art, than with the essential greatness of the man himself who conceived the method of the *Short History* and put the work into finished phrase. Mr. Green was no ordinary man. Antecedent to any discussion of the scope or the merits of his history we must be grateful to the editor for her biographical sketch of the historian as contained in her "Introduction." In this portrayal he stands out before us with statuesque clearness and strength. From the age of sixteen, when Gibbon awoke within him the "enthusiasm for history," we follow with interest the gradual unfolding of his historic scheme; in his struggle with disease and his forced night writing for support our sympathy is stirred;

in the display of his many qualities we yield to the fascination of his character; in his premature death we deplore the departure of a noble spirit. Great as is his work, from various standpoints, the man himself is greater than his best workmanship. As to his *Short History* itself, it has stood the test of criticism for nearly a score of years since its first issue, and is its own advocate and interpreter. In its fundamental conception the aim, as is well known, is to portray the history of the common people of England in contradistinction from her kings or her conquests. In its scope it sweeps the historic field from A. D. 449 to the present era. As to its structure it is a poem in prose, and on both sides of the Atlantic it has won a prominent place among historical authorities. "Read by hundreds of thousands of Englishmen," says Mrs. Green, "it has not passed through their hands without communicating something of that passion of patriotism by which it is itself inspired, as it creates and illuminates for the English democracy that vision of the continuous life of a mighty people, and as it quickens faith in that noble ideal of freedom which we have brought as our great contribution to the sum of human effort. Among English-speaking people beyond the seas, where it has yet a greater number of readers than here, it has helped to strengthen the sense of kinship and the reverence for our common past." With such an influence exerted by this newer history on both sides of the Atlantic its present issue in illustrated form is natural, wholesome, and cordially welcome. History is always capable of pictorial representation, and of all national growths the story of the English development, with its many thrilling passages, lends itself particularly to the engraver's art. For the earlier centuries Danish and Swedish collections have been drawn upon in the representation of household implements, armor, ornaments, and the like. For the period extending from the eighth to the sixteenth century resort has been had to the illuminated manuscripts in the British Museum, in the Public Record Office, at Lambeth, and in the Bodleian and various other college libraries. For the later centuries manuscripts, prints, engravings, and various other authorities have been consulted. The result of all this is two volumes, as far as the series has as yet gone, which in workmanship and pictorial charm are beyond easy description. An intrinsically great history, in other words, becomes more valuable under the engraver's skill.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Woman and the Higher Education. Edited by ANNA C. BRACKETT. *The Literature of Philanthropy.* Edited by FRANCES A. GOODALE. *Early Prose and Verse.* Edited by ALICE MORSE EARL and EMILY ELLSWORTH FORD. *The Kindergarten.* Edited by KATE DOUGLAS WIGGIN. *Household Art.* Edited by CANDACE WHEELER. *Short Stories.* Edited by CONSTANCE CARY HARRISON. The Duff Series. 6 vols., 16mo. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, cloth, ornamental, \$1 each.

These volumes are part of the "Exhibit of Woman's Work in Literature in the State of New York," to be preserved in the State Library in

the capital at Albany. Inside and outside they are women's work. The contents are from women's brains; the cover was designed and the types were set by women. We can give particular notice to only one. The volume open before us is *The Literature of Philanthropy*. It contains essays on "Criminal Reform," "The Tenement Neighborhood Idea," "University Settlements," "Medical Women in Tenements," "The Trained Nurse," "The Society of the Red Cross," "The Indian," "A Woman Among the Indians," "The Antislavery Struggle," "The Antislavery Legacy," "The Negro and Civilization," "The Education of the Blind." Our spiritual sensibility feels the trickle of warm tears and the light of a sweet smile across these pages. There is the throb of a soft pulse-beat through the lines, and reading is like laying one's finger on the wrist of a hand that once was pierced of Him who was dead but is alive again for evermore. We mean that a humane compassion, born in flesh and blood by the Spirit of the divine Christ, is seen at work in all the philanthropies and succors which this small book records. Finishing this volume, written by women concerning women's merciful work, we feel as if we had been to the Holy Land and some woman of Tiberias had shown us footprints on the beach of the Sea of Galilee actually made by the feet which once a woman bathed with her tears and wiped with her hair; for the soil where such divine philanthropies transpire is sanctified thereby, and such deeds as these among frontier wigwams, tenements of city slums, cabins of freedmen, hospital wards and beds of suffering, prison cells and scenes of appalling disaster, and devastation by flood, fire, earthquake, or famine—such deeds do signify and certify that Jesus Christ has passed along that way in the persons of those in whom, whether they realize it fully or faintly, he by his Spirit effectually and dominantly dwells.

Work and Workers. Practical Suggestions for the Junior Epworth League. By FREDERICK S. PARKHURST, B.D. With an Introduction by Rev. EDWIN A. SCHELL, D.D., General Secretary of the Epworth League. 12mo, pp. 85. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curtis. Price, cloth, 40 cents.

The Latter-Day Eden, Treating of Wedlock and the Home. By HENRY TUCKLEY, Author of *Under the Queen*, etc. 12mo, pp. 251. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curtis. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Price, cloth, 90 cents.

The Primary Teacher. With Helps and Exercises. By MARTHA VAN MARGER, Introduction by JESSE LYMAN HURLBUT, D.D. 12mo, pp. 166. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curtis. Price, cloth, 70 cents.

The Master Sower. By Rev. F. T. DAVIS, A.M. 12mo, pp. 196. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curtis. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Price, cloth, 75 cents.

Seven Graded Sunday Schools. A Series of Practical Papers. Edited by JESSE LYMAN HURLBUT, Secretary of the Sunday School Union of the Methodist Episcopal Church. 16mo, pp. 120. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curtis. Price, cloth, 50 cents.

The Pathway of Victory. By Hon. ROBERT E. GIRDLESTONE, M.A., Canon of Christ Church, etc. 12mo, pp. 85. Cincinnati: Cranston & Curtis. New York: Hunt & Eaton. Price, cloth, 30 cents.

The titles of the above volumes generally suggest their aim and method of treatment. We would fain speak of each in full detail were

we not circumscribed by the limits of our columns. There is not a careless or unworthy book in the group. On each the comment may be passed that it is earnest, concise, and instructive.

The Revival Quiver. A Pastor's Record of Four Revival Campaigns. By Rev. LOUIS ALBERT BANKS, D.D., Author of *The People's Christ*, etc. 12mo, pp. 254. Boston: Lee & Shepard. Price, cloth, \$1.50.

The whole trend of this volume is toward the necessity and value of revivals. An earnest pastor, who has been unusually blessed in evangelistic labors, here reveals, so far as such methods are a matter of description, some of the secrets of his revivalistic practice. The outlines of many hortatory addresses, which have been the means of "the conversion of several hundreds of men and women," also accompany the story of his methods of work. It is a good book, and should inspire other Christian ministers to help make the world better.

At the Beautiful Gate, and Other Songs of Faith. By LUCY LARCOM. 16mo, pp. 177. New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, cloth, \$1.

One of the merits of the verses of Lucy Larcom is their religious quality. In addition to a right regard for meter and versification, as well as all other mechanical considerations involved in poetic work, her sentiment is that which breathes of Christian faith and tranquillity. Particularly in the present collection of sonnets does this feature obtain. Whoever is hungry for the consolation which is available in poetry for the burdened and troubled heart will be cheered by these songs of resignation and hope. The late poetess has left to the world a rich legacy.

Only Judith. By LYDIA L. ROUSE. 12mo, pp. 231. Price, cloth, 85 cents.

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Cameron Slope. A Story of Mining Life. By Rev. R. F. BISHOP, of the Ohio Conference. 12mo, pp. 320. Price, cloth, \$1.25.

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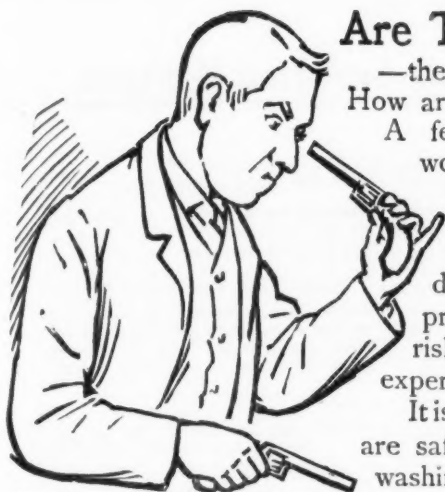
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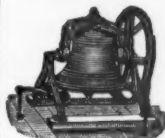
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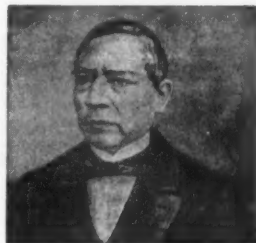
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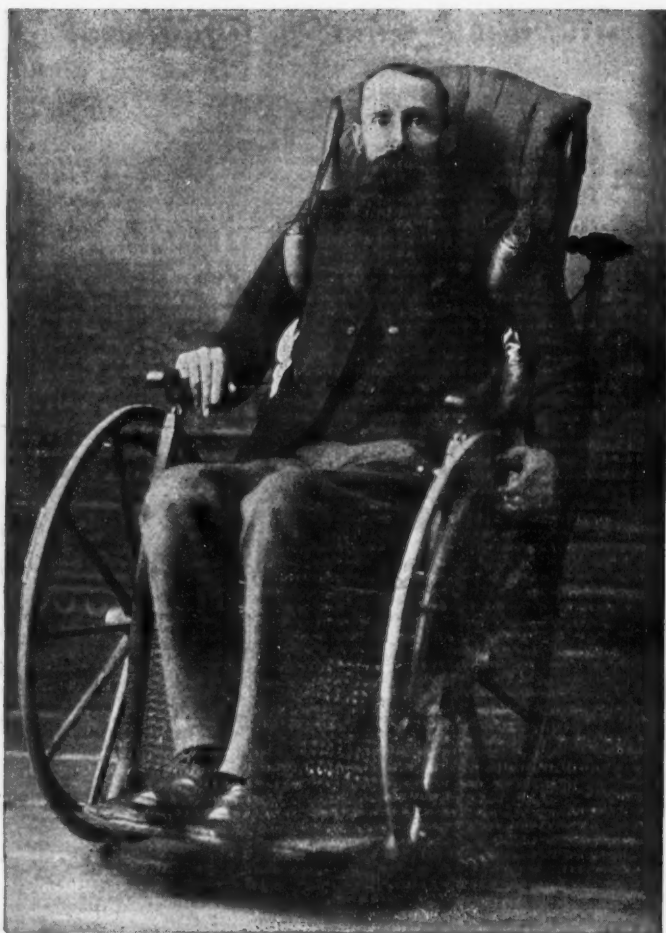
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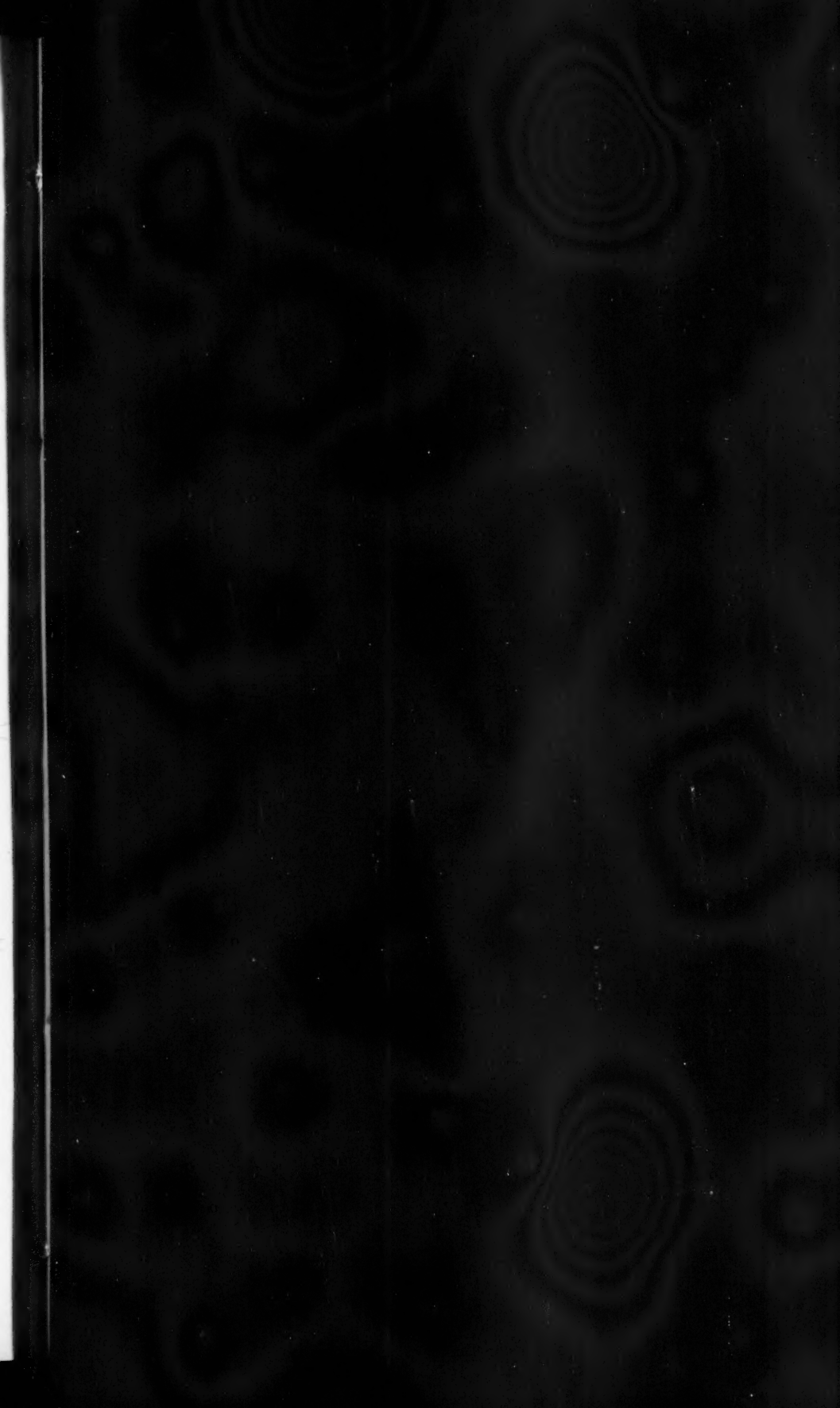
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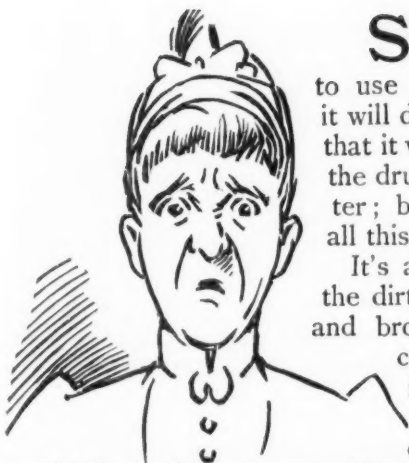
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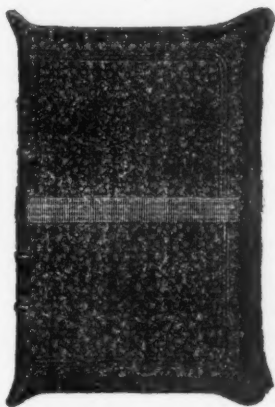
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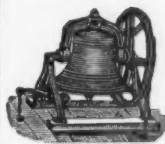
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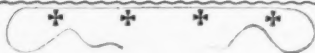
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